

Korean Grammar

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H. B. LEE

This book is a reference grammar covering many aspects of modern standard Korean ranging from phonetics to syntax, and every effort has been made to describe as simply and concisely as possible the linguistic facts of Korean as it is spoken in Seoul, Korea.

The language is set out in a methodological and orderly manner, with many examples, and while the author has taken advantage of current linguistic theory and descriptive techniques, many of his technical terms are introduced with explanations and illustrations from English material for readers who are not familiar with the details of present-day linguistics.

The book will be useful not only to linguists in general and specialists in Korean but also to students and general readers who are interested in any aspect of the Korean language, now spoken by nearly 64 million people.

H.B. Lee is Professor of Phonetics and Linguistics, Seoul National University, Korea.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

Korean Grammar

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HANSOL H. B. LEE

*Professor of Phonetics and Linguistics, and
Director of Language Research Institute,
Seoul National University*

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Preface

This is a revised and modified version of my thesis 'A Study of Korean Syntax', which was submitted to the University of London for the Ph.D. degree in General Linguistics and Phonetics. Apart from the revision and modification of the original thesis to make it suitable as a reference grammar rather than a purely academic work, a change has also been made in the manner of presentation of Korean examples and materials: all Korean examples are given first in the Korean orthography, i.e. the one used in the Republic of Korea; this is followed by a phonemic transcription and, when necessary to clarify an otherwise ambiguous structure, a morphemic transcription.

This book has been designed to be a reference grammar covering all aspects of modern standard Korean, ranging from phonetics to syntax. While taking advantage of current linguistic theory and descriptive techniques, the author has made every effort to describe grammatical points as simply and concisely as possible, with plenty of examples. Many of the technical terms are introduced with explanations and illustrations from English material for those readers who are not assumed to be familiar with the details of modern linguistics. I only hope that the book will be useful not only to students and specialists in the Korean language and linguistics but also to linguists in general.

I would like to record here my profound gratitude to Professor R. H. Robins of the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, and Professor W. E. Skellend of the Department of the Far East, in the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London), for their continued help and guidance in the course of writing the thesis and later, in revising and recasting it in a format suitable for publication. I owe especial thanks to Professor Skellend for his warm friendship, and to Miss Diana Matias for the painstaking work which she has put into preparing the manuscript for publication.

The author also wishes to express his thanks to the Publications Committee of the School of Oriental and African Studies for accepting the manuscript of the book for publication and meeting the full cost of production. Finally, despite the inhibitions of oriental conventions, the author feels that mention should be made of the lasting debt that he owes to his wife, Justine, for the constant encouragement and assistance that she gave him during his student days in London.

London
July, 1986

Hansol Hyun Bok Lee

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Abbreviations

A	Adjunct
act.	active
Adj./adj.	Adjective/adjectival
adj.cl.	adjectival clause
adj.(rel.)ph.	adjectival relational phrase
Adv./adv.	Adverb/adverbial
adv.cl.	adverbial clause
adv.ph.	adverbial phrase
Ag.	Agent
aux.	auxiliary
ani.	animate
C	(i) Consonant in chapter II, <i>Phonetics and Phonology</i> (ii) Complement
c.	coordinator
caus.	causative
cl.	clause
comp.	compound
concat.	concatenating
conj.	conjunctive
d.	descriptive
decl.	declarative
deic.	deictic
deriv.	derived/derivational
end.	ending
Exp.	Expansion
f.cl./nf.cl.	final clause/non-final clause
fmtv.	formative
fut.	future
H	Head
hon.	honorific
imper.	imperative
ina.	inanimate
infx.	inflectional
Interj./interj.	Interjection/interjectival
intr.	intransitive
md.	mood
mdf.	modifying

N/n	Noun/nominal
N.ani.	Animate noun
N.ina.	Inanimate noun
N.hon.	Honorific noun
N.num.	Numeral noun
N.n.ind.	Non-independent noun
N.pl.	Plain noun
N.Cl./n.cl.	Nominal Clause
NP	Nominal Phrase
Nuc./nuc.	Nucleus
num.	numeral
O	Object
p.	processive
pasv.	passive
Pcl./pcl.	Particle
ph.	phrase
pres.	present
prfx.	prefix
presump.	presumptive
progr.	progressive
prop.	propositive
Rel/rel.	relational
retros.	retrospective
S	Subject
Sat./sat.	Satellite
sfx.	suffix
St./st.	stem
sub.	subordinate
t.	tense
tr.	transitive
V/v.	(i) Vowel in chapter II, <i>Phonetics and Phonology</i> (ii) Verb/verbal
V.aux.	Auxiliary Verb
V.c.	Copula Verb
V.d.	Descriptive Verb
V.p.	Processive Verb
V.pl.	Plain Verb
V.hon.	Honorific Verb
V.intr.	Intransitive Verb
V.tr.	Transitive Verb
VP	Verbal Phrase
vc.	voice
Z/z	Sentence

Symbols and notations

/ /	phonemic transcription
[]	(i) phonetic transcription (ii) translation fill-in
()	optional, e.g. (S)P → P or SP
→	rewrite
*	hypothetical or unreal form
+	plus juncture within a transcribed passage (addition sign elsewhere)
,	tentative juncture within a transcribed passage (comma elsewhere)
.	terminal juncture in a transcribed passage (period elsewhere)
/:/	Quantity (length) in chapter II, <i>Phonetics and Phonology</i> , and in a transcribed passage
V/C-form	Post-vocalic/post-consonantal form
a/ʌ	Form selected by vowel harmony
'	stress marker in chapter II, <i>Phonetics and Phonology</i>
˩ ˨ ˧ ˦ ˥	tone markers
space in transcribed passages	(i) stress group boundary in phonemic transcription, e.g. /ne' nala so' sig/ (ii) word boundary in morphophonemic transcription, e.g. <i>ne nala sosig</i>

I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE KOREAN LANGUAGE

No one knows for certain how long Korean has been spoken and we have yet to see the results of historico-comparative studies on the origin of the Korean language and its early development prior to the fifteenth century. However, from what record we have in Chinese, we can assume that the Koreans tried to express themselves by Chinese characters as early as some time between the first and fourth century A.D. (Seungbog Cho 1967, Hŭisŭng Yi 1955).

There have been several conflicting theories as to the origin of Korean and its affinity to other languages. The Indo-European theory (Eckardt 1966, Aalto 1947) and the Dravidian theory (Hulbert 1906) are considered to be hardly convincing. The Altaic theory (Ramstedt 1949, 1957-66) now seems to be most widely accepted, and the Korean language is therefore classified as a member of the Altaic family along with Tungus, Manchu, Mongolian and Turkish (Sungnyŏng Yi 1954). Moreover, Panghan Kim (1983) and Kimun Yi (1972), the two leading Korean specialists working in the field of historico-comparative linguistics, seem to share to a great extent the view put forward by Ramstedt. Like other Altaic languages, Korean is predominantly agglutinative in morphological formations. However, there are some scholars who do not readily approve of the Altaic theory (Poppe 1955).

There is yet another theory which attempts to relate Korean and Japanese (Kono 1944, Ono 1955, Lewin 1976). H. A. Gleason seems to recognize the Korean language as forming a separate language family when he states that 'Korean comprises the Korean family and is somewhat distantly related to the Japanese family' (Gleason 1961, pp. 468, 479). Korean and Japanese, whose affinity has long been disputed, are strikingly alike in overall grammatical and syntactic patterns rather than in lexis. Martin (1966) has presented some lexical evidence relating Korean to Japanese.

The Korean language is spoken today by nearly 64 million Koreans, of whom about 60 million live in the Korean peninsula and the remaining 4 million abroad, mainly in China, Japan, U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. It is the official language in Korea as well as the medium of education from kindergarten to university level, and of all cultural activities including the press and broadcasting.

1.2. WRITING SYSTEM

Koreans relied mainly on the Chinese writing system until the 15th century A.D. when they came to have their own alphabet. Although it is not known exactly when the Koreans began to borrow Chinese characters, it is now generally acknowledged to have been between the first and fourth centuries. Apart from using Chinese as a foreign language, the Koreans employed the Chinese characters in two different ways. First, they were used to represent, or rather transcribe, Korean syllables which were phonetically similar to the characters used, i.e., as phonetic symbols. Secondly, they were used to represent Korean morphemes or words which had translation equivalence to the original reference of the characters or Chinese loanwords. These two methods were often combined within a word, especially an inflectional word such as verb, of which the stem was represented by the semantically equivalent Chinese morphemes and the suffix(es) by the phonetically equivalent Chinese characters.

1.2.1. *The Korean Alphabet*

Since Korean and Chinese were very different from each other in grammatical and phonological structure, as they are today, the use of the Chinese writing system as a means of transcribing Korean must have been most inadequate as well as inconvenient. Inadequate or not, however, this practice went on until 1446 A.D., when Sejong /sejoŋ/, the fourth king of the Yi Dynasty, promulgated 'Hunminjōngŭm' /hunminjōŋim/,¹ a newly-created Korean alphabet of 28 letters, to the nation. The king, who was a distinguished linguist himself, actually completed the alphabet in 1443 A.D. after years of research in collaboration with a group of eight scholars, but he tested it for three years before making it public. In his preface to Hunminjōngŭm, the king stated as the reason for devising a new alphabet the inadequacy and inconvenience of the Chinese characters as a writing system for the Korean language. Hence the name 'Hunminjōngŭm', which means literally 'The right sounds to teach the nation'.

Hunminjōngŭm was unique in many respects and it certainly deserves to be more widely known and understood. First, it was based on the articulatory phonetic theory. That is to say, the shape of the basic letters was modelled on the actual shape of the articulatory organs involved in pronouncing the sounds represented by the letters. For instance, the letter ㄱ [g or k] represents the velar sound since it resembles the shape of the tongue blocking the 'throat'; the letter ㄴ [n] represents the lingual sound or dental/alveolar sound in modern terminology since it resembles the tongue touching 'the upper jaw', i.e., upper teeth or teeth ridge; and the letter ㅁ [m] represents the labial sound since it resembles the shape of the lips, etc. In this manner the

¹ Cf. Minsu Kim, *Chuhae hunminjōngŭm* ('Hunminjōngŭm Annotated'), 1957.

five basic letters were established and the twelve remaining consonant letters were derived by adding to each of the five basic letters one or more additional stroke or symbol which indicated other phonologically relevant phonetic features or different manners of articulation at homorganic points of articulation. The eleven vowel letters were likewise formulated on the basis of phonetic observations, of which three letters, ㅏ [a or ɔ], ㅜ [i or u] and ㅣ [i] were taken as basic and the eight remaining vowel letters were derived by different combinations of the three basic letters. (The first of these three basic letters has been discarded in the modern orthography.)

Secondly, Hunminjōngŭm, although formulated on a purely phonetic basis, was a phonemic alphabet in its actual application. And there is sufficient evidence (e.g. the recognition of three positions, initial, medial and final, in the syllable and the statements concerning the distribution of sounds at the three positions of a syllable, etc.) that the king had completed some kind of preliminary phonological analysis of Korean according to a phonemic principle not far removed from that of modern linguistics, even though he did not actually use the term 'Phoneme' as against 'Phone' or 'Sound'.¹

The third characteristic of Hunminjōngŭm is found in the spelling principle decreed by the king, according to which letters were to be combined, in accordance with the prescribed rule, into syllable blocks and not in a linear succession as in European languages. In other words, graphemes were, and still are, arranged syllabically in such a way that each syllable has a distinct geometrical shape. For instance, syllables like /mag/ 'curtain' and /nun/ 'eye' would be arranged in actual writing as follows:

/mag/ $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{m} \\ \text{a} \\ \text{g} \end{smallmatrix}$: 막 < ㅁ = m, ㅏ = a, ㄱ = g

/nun/ $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{n} \\ \text{u} \\ \text{n} \end{smallmatrix}$: 눈 < ㄴ = n, ㅜ = u, ㄴ = n

With the three characteristics of Hunminjōngŭm taken into consideration, the Korean alphabet of the fifteenth century may be defined as *a phonemic alphabet based on phonetic principles and spelt syllabically*.

1.2.2. *The Present Alphabet*

The present Korean alphabet of 24 letters or graphemes is essentially the same as that of the fifteenth century, except that (i) four graphemes,² owing to the change in the phonological system, are obsolete, (ii) the shape of some graphemes has very slightly changed, and (iii) most important of all, the

¹ Cf. Kimun Yi, *Kugō p'yogipōbūi yōksajōk yōn'gu* ('An Historical Study of Korean Spelling'), 1963.

² Ung Hō, *Kugō ūmunnon* ('Korean Phonology', revised ed.), 1968, pp. 285. See pp. 285-316 for further details of these letters and their phonetic values.

present spelling principle is morphemic (since the formulation in 1933 of 'The Unified Spelling System' by the Korean Language Research Society), whereas it had been mainly phonemic from the invention of the Korean alphabet in the fifteenth century until 1933. By 'morphemic spelling principle' is meant one whereby every word or morpheme is represented by its base form. For instance, 목이 /mogi/ 'the neck' < *mog* 'neck' + *i* 'subject particle' and 모기 /mogi/ 'mosquito' are pronounced the same and may thus be spelt alike in phonemic spelling, but in morphemic spelling, as is already clear from the Korean spelling form, the word for 'neck' is given the shape 목 /mog/ and it appears in that shape in any environment, thus standing in contrast to 모기 /mogi/ 'mosquito'.

The Korean alphabet of 24 graphemes currently in use is given below with the transcription symbols shown between slant bars after each grapheme.

Vowel Graphemes (10)

ㅏ /a/, ㅑ /ja/, ㅓ /ʌ/, ㅕ /jʌ/, ㅗ /o/,
ㅜ /jo/, ㅠ /u/, ㅡ /ju/, ㅣ /i/, ㅚ /i/.

Consonant Graphemes

ㄱ /g/, ㅋ /n/, ㆁ /d/, ㄴ /l/, ㅁ /m/,
ㅂ /b/, ㅅ /s/, ㅇ /Zero ~ η/, ㅈ /j/,
ㅊ /c/, ㅋ /k/, ㅌ /t/, ㅍ /p/, ㅎ /h/.

The order in which the vowel and consonant graphemes are given is the one used widely in Korea. The grapheme ㅇ at the syllable-initial position is phonetically nothing and therefore phonologically redundant, but it is used nowadays, as in the fifteenth century, to mark a syllable beginning with a vowel. Syllable-finally, however, it represents /ŋ/.

The total number of the Korean phonemes is 29, of which eight are vowels, two semi-vowels and 19 consonants (cf. 2.2). On the other hand, excluding the four vowel graphemes representing diphthongs, there are only 20 graphemes, which thus gives rise to a situation in which there are nine more phonemes than there are graphemes. This discrepancy is resolved by representing the nine phonemes by digraphs or geminations:

Vowels

/e/ ㅓ < ㅕ /ʌ/ + ㅗ /i/
/ɛ/ ㅓ < ㅕ /a/ + ㅗ /i/

Consonants

/k̥/ ㄱ < ㅋ /g/ + ㅏ /g/
/i/ ㆁ < ㄴ /d/ + ㅓ /d/
/p̥/ ㅂ < ㅅ /b/ + ㅓ /b/
/t̥/ ㅈ < ㅊ /j/ + ㅓ /j/
/s̥/ ㅅ < ㅆ /s/ + ㅓ /s/

Semi-vowels

/j/ and /w/ are somewhat peculiar in their graphemic representation. The semi-vowel /j/ is represented by a stroke added to a pure vowel with which /j/ forms a diphthong as illustrated by the following examples and those given in 1.2.2. (cf. p. 4):

/je/ ㅓ < ㅕ /j/ + ㅓ /e/
/je/ ㅓ < ㅕ /j/ + ㅓ /ɛ/

The semi-vowel /w/ is represented graphemically either by ㅜ /o/ or ㅠ /u/ depending on the vowel following with which /w/ forms a diphthong:

/wa/ ㅜ < ㅠ /o/ + ㅏ /a/
/we/ ㅜ < ㅠ /o/ + ㅓ /ɛ/
/we/ ㅜ < ㅠ /o/ + ㅓ /i/
or
/we/ ㅠ < ㅜ /u/ + ㅓ /e/
/wi/ ㅠ < ㅜ /u/ + ㅓ /i/
/wʌ/ ㅠ < ㅜ /u/ + ㅓ /ʌ/

1.2.3. The Korean Alphabet and the Prosodic Analysis

The current alphabet, and for that matter, to an even greater extent, fifteenth-century Hunminjeongeum, is not a haphazard collection of isolated letters. It is, in a sense, not only a phonetic alphabet based exclusively on detailed phonetic observations of the articulatory organs, but also a remarkably neat system composed of interrelated elements (letters). In particular, it is interesting to note the striking similarity between the manner in which the Korean alphabet is systematized and the theoretical tenet of the 'Prosodic Analysis' as initiated and developed by the London School, namely, a multi-dimensional approach characterized by the establishment of phonematic units on the one hand, and the abstraction and assignment of prosodic features to and over the phonematic units on the other. This can be exemplified by the Korean consonant letters. Of the 19 consonant letters, the following 16 are chosen for the purposes of this discussion:

	Voiceless unaspirated	Voiceless aspirated	Voiceless glottalized	Voiced nasal
bi-labial plosive	ㅂ /b/	ㅅ /p/	ㅃ /p̥/	ㅁ /m/
alveolar plosive	ㄷ /d/	ㅌ /t/	ㄸ /t̥/	ㄴ /n/
velar plosive	ㄱ /g/	ㅋ /k/	ㄲ /k̥/	

¹ J. R. Firth, 'Sounds and Prosodies', *TPS*, 1948, pp. 127-52; R. H. Robins, *Aspects of Prosodic Analysis*, 1957, pp. 1-12; J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*, 1968, pp. 127-32.

post-alveolar affricates	ㅈ /j/	ㅊ /c/	ㅉ /č/
alveolar fricatives	ㅅ /s/	ㅆ /š/	

These 16 consonant letters can be described in prosodic terms as composed of five phonematic units, each representing a different place of articulation, (i) bi-labial, (ii) alveolar, (iii) velar, (iv) post-alveolar (affricate) and (v) alveolar (fricative), and four prosodic features, (i) voiceless unaspirated, (ii) voiceless aspirated, (iii) voiceless glottalized, and (iv) voiced nasal. The analysis can be simplified considerably by symbolizing the phonematic units by the 'voiceless unaspirated' letters ㅁ, ㄷ, ㄱ, ㅈ, ㅅ, thereby reducing the number of prosodies from four to three, with the prosody 'voiceless unaspirated' treated as an unmarked term automatically ascribable to the five phonematic units. Symbolizing, by superscripts, the three prosodies as: h — 'aspiration prosody'; q — 'glottal prosody'; n — 'nasal prosody', the 16 consonant letters may be represented as consisting of five phonematic units and a zero or one of the three prosodies as follows:

ㅁ (/b/)	h ㅁ (= ㅁ /p/)	q ㅁ (= ㅁ /p̰/)	n ㅁ (= ㅁ /m/)
ㄷ (/d/)	h ㄷ (= ㄷ /t/)	q ㄷ (= ㄷ /t̰/)	n ㄷ (= ㄷ /n/)
ㄱ (/g/)	h ㄱ (= ㄱ /k/)	q ㄱ (= ㄱ /k̰/)	
ㅈ (/j/)	h ㅈ (= ㅈ /c/)	q ㅈ (= ㅈ /č/)	
ㅅ (/s/)		q ㅅ (= ㅅ /š/)	

1.3. THE TYPE OF KOREAN DESCRIBED IN THIS BOOK

There are seven main dialects¹ in Korea, which correspond roughly to the respective administrative regions. They are (i) Hamgyeong Province dialect, (ii) Pyeongan Province dialect, (iii) Central dialect of Gyeonggi, Gangweon and Hwanghae Province, (iv) Chungcheong Province dialect, (v) Gyeongsang Province dialect, (vi) Jeolla Province dialect and (vii) Jeju Province dialect.

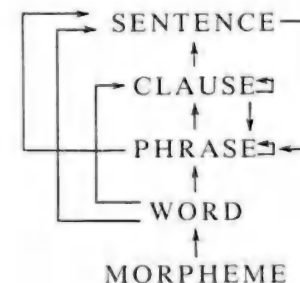
The capital city, Seoul, is located in the heart of the central dialect zone, and the type of Korean described in this book is the one spoken in and around Seoul by educated people, often referred to as 'Standard Korean'.

¹ Hyōnggyu Kim, *Kugō sa* ('History of the Korean Language'), 1956, pp. 200-1.

1.4. THE SCOPE AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The aim of this book is to present a basic grammatical analysis of standard Korean, upon which an analysis of greater detail could be based.

The grammatical units set up for the purposes of syntactic description are, in descending order of rank, 'Sentence', 'Clause', 'Phrase', 'Word' and 'Morpheme'. These units are hierarchically related in such a way that every unit, except 'Morpheme' which can not be analysed into meaningful smaller units, consists of one or more units immediately below. Thus a word consists of one or more morphemes, a phrase of one or more words, a clause of one or more phrases, and a sentence of one or more clauses. Instead of regarding the linguistic units given above as analytically consisting of one or more units immediately below in rank, one can regard and define them synthetically¹ as units functioning within more inclusive units. The unit 'Sentence', however, will be excluded from such a synthetic definition since it is taken as the largest and most inclusive unit. The intermediate units, clause, phrase, word, can be defined both analytically and synthetically. The hierarchical relationship existing among the units does not preclude the possibility of rank shift,² upward or downward. For instance, a word may bypass the level of phrase and occur as a clause or a constituent of a clause (upward rank shift), or a clause may be embedded in a phrase structure (downward rank shift). The total distributional relations holding among the five units may be diagrammatically set out as shown below, where the arrows in the centre represent the most common distribution; the arrows returning to the same unit 'recursive rank shift', viz., a unit occurring as a constituent of an expanded structure of the same unit, e.g., a phrase found in larger phrase; the arrows pointing downward 'downward rank shift'; and the arrows by-passing a unit 'upward rank shift'.



¹ W. Haas, 'On Defining Linguistic Units' *TPS*, 1954, pp. 60-8.

² M. A. K. Halliday, 'Categories of the Theory of Grammar', *Word*, 17, 1961, pp. 250-4. It is to be noted that Halliday does not recognize 'upward rank shift'.

Examples

(i) Sentence

기다리던 눈이 많이 오니 나의 기분이 좋다
 /gidalidan nu:ni ma:ni oni, nae gibuni jo:ta/
 'As the snow that I have been waiting for falls (lit. 'comes') in plenty,
 I feel fine (lit. 'my mood is good').'

(ii) Clause

- (a) 기다리던 눈이 많이 오니
 /gidalidan nu:ni ma:ni oni/
 'As the snow that I have been waiting for falls in plenty'
 (b) 나의 기분이 좋다
 /nae gibuni jo:ta/ 'My mood is good.'

(iii) Phrase

- (a) 기다리던 눈
 /gidalidan nu:n/ 'the snow that I have been waiting for'
 (b) 많이 오니
 /ma:ni oni/ '[as it] falls in plenty'
 (c) 나의 기분
 /nae gibun/ 'my mood'

(iv) Word

기다리던 /gidalidan/ '[that I] have been waiting for'
 눈 /nu:n/ 'snow', 이 /i/ subject particle
 많이 /ma:ni/ 'in plenty', 오니 /oni/ 'as it comes'
 나 /na/ 'I', 의 /e/ (< ii) 'of', 기분 /gibun/ 'mood'
 좋다 /jo:ta/ 'is good, feels fine'

(v) Morpheme

기다리 /gidali-/ 'to wait for',
 더 /-da-/ retros.t.sfx., ~ /-n/ adj.cl.end.
 눈 /nu:n/ 'snow', 이 /i/ subject.pcl.
 많 /ma:n-/ 'to be plenty', 이 /-i/ adv.deriv.sfx.
 오 /o-/ 'to come, fall', 니 /-ni/ non-final adv.cl.end.
 나 /na/ 'I', 의 /e/ (< ii) 'of',
 기분 /gibun/ 'mood', 좋 /jo:-/ 'to be good',
 다 /-ta/ (< -da) decl.md.end.

(vi) Downward rank shift

The adjectival clause /gidalidan/ functions as a word (adjective) in the nominal phrase

/gidalidan nu:n/ 'the snow that I have been waiting for'
 Exp. H.

(vii) Upward rank shift

The word /jo:ta/ 'is good' bypasses the level of phrase and functions as a constituent (predicate) of the clause

/nae gibuni jo:ta/ 'My mood is good.'
 S P

In this book, the syntactic description begins at the word level and proceeds through successively larger units, i.e., phrase and clause, until sentence is reached. The unit word is chosen to serve as the basic syntactic unit, and the discussion of the unit morpheme is restricted to the morphology of verbs as it is directly relevant to Korean syntax.

II

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

2.1. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

There are two major branches in the study of the sounds of a given language: Phonetics and Phonology. These two branches are related to each other in that they both study sounds of a language, but they differ in their viewpoint and objective. Phonetics is concerned with actual speech sounds as we pronounce and hear them, but in any person's speech there are hundreds of speech sounds and the differences between them are not always important or significant. Phonology aims to systematize these speech sounds into a smaller number of significant sound units called 'Phonemes'. For instance, phonetics will tell us that the plosive sounds occurring in 'pin', 'spin' and 'bin' are different sounds: 'p' of 'pin' is a voiceless aspirated sound [p^h]; 'p' of 'spin' a voiceless unaspirated sound [p] and 'b' of 'bin' a voiced unaspirated sound [b]. But phonetics does not tell us much about the function of these sounds, i.e., which is significant and which is not. It is phonology which does that. Phonology observes that as [p] occurs only after the [s] sound as in 'spin' and is [p^h] elsewhere, the plosive sounds never have the function of distinguishing different words in English, and decides that the two sounds [p^h] and [p] are to be treated as members or 'Allophones' of the phoneme /p/, and not as two separate phonemes. On the other hand, the two speech sounds [p^h] and [b] can occur in the same environment and distinguish pairs of words, e.g. 'pin' : 'bin'. Therefore the sound [b] forms a separate phoneme /b/, instead of being an allophone of /p/ phoneme to which [p] belongs. Notice that the three speech sounds [p^h], [p] and [b] also occur in Korean but are phonemized differently: [p^h] and [p] form two separate phonemes /p/ and /p̥/, e.g. /pul/ 'grass' and /p̥ul/ 'horn', whereas they form a single phoneme in English as shown earlier. [b] forms yet another phoneme /b/ with [b], e.g. /bul/ 'fire'.

In the following sections a brief description of Korean phonology will be given first, followed by that of Korean phonetics. In order to distinguish speech sounds or allophones from phonemes, the symbols standing for phonemes will be put between obliques and the phonetic symbols between square brackets.

2.2. THE KOREAN PHONEMES

The symbols here used to represent the Korean phonemes are those of the International Phonetic Association.

The Korean phonemes are divided into the four different types: (i) Vowels, (ii) Consonants, (iii) Semi-vowels, and (iv) Suprasegmental phonemes.

2.2.1. Vowels

There are eight vowels:

/i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /a/, /o/, /u/, /ʌ/, /ɪ/

Examples

비 /bi/ 'rain'	베 /be/ 'hemp cloth'
배 /bɛ/ 'pear'	바 /ba/ 'rope'
보 /bo/ 'wrapping cloth'	부 /bu/ 'wealth'
그 /gi/ 'that'	거리 /gʌli/ 'street'

2.2.2. Consonants

There are nineteen consonants:

/b/	/d/	/s/	/j/	/g/	
/p/	/t/		/c/	/k/	/h/
/p̥/	/t̥/	/s̥/	/c̥/	/k̥/	
/m/	/n/			/ŋ/	
	/l/				

Examples

- (a) /b/ 발 /bal/ 'foot', 이발 /ibal/ 'hairdressing', 입 /ib/ 'mouth'
- (b) /p/ 팔 /pal/ 'arm', 비파 /bipa/ 'lute'
- (c) /p̥/ 빨 /pal/ 'sucking', 이빨 /ipal/ 'tooth'
- (d) /d/ 달 /dal/ 'moon', 배달 /bedal/ 'delivery', 곧 /god/ 'soon'
- (e) /t/ 탈 /tal/ 'trouble', 이탈 /ital/ 'separation'
- (f) /t̥/ 딸 /tal/ 'daughter', 보따리 /boitali/ 'bundle'
- (g) /j/ 잘 /jal/ 'Well!', 사자 /saja/ 'lion'
- (h) /c/ 찰 /cal/ 'to kick', 기차 /gica/ 'train'
- (i) /c̥/ 찰 /cal/ 'salty', 바짝 /bačag/ 'closely'
- (j) /g/ 갈 /gal/ 'to go', 사과 /sagwa/ 'apple', 각 /gag/ 'angle'
- (k) /k/ 칼 /kal/ 'knife', 상쾌 /sangkwɛ/ 'refreshing'
- (l) /k̥/ 칼 /kal/ 'colour', 바깥 /bakad/ 'outside'
- (m) /s/ 살 /sal/ 'flesh', 조사 /josa/ 'investigation'
- (n) /s̥/ 쌀 /sal/ 'rice', 비싼 /bišan/ 'expensive'
- (o) /h/ 해 /hɛ/ 'sun', 이해 /ihɛ/ 'understanding'
- (p) /m/ 말 /mal/ 'horse', 이마 /ima/ 'forehead', 삼 /sam/ 'three'
- (q) /n/ 날 /nal/ 'day', 비누 /binu/ 'soap', 산 /san/ 'mountain'
- (r) /ŋ/ 상어 /saŋʌ/ 'shark', 상 /saŋ/ 'table'
- (s) /l/ 길이 /gili/ [giri] 'length', 일 /il/ 'one'

2.2.3. Semi-vowels

There are two semi-vowels, /j/ and /w/, which combine with vowels to form the following diphthongs:

/je/, /jɛ/, /ja/, /jo/, /ju/, /jʌ/,
/wi/, /we/, /wɛ/, /wa/, /wʌ/.

In addition to the /j/-initial and /w/-initial diphthongs listed above, which are all rising diphthongs, there is /ii/, which may be either rising or falling.

Examples

예 /je/ 'example, yes', 노예 /noje/ 'slave'
애 /jɛ/ 'Hey, you!' 하애 /haje/ 'is white'
야 /ja/ 'Look!', 혼약 /honja/ 'engagement'
욕 /jog/ 'swear, insult', 종교 /jongjo/ 'religion'
육 /jug/ 'six', 우유 /uju/ 'milk'
여자 /jɔja/ 'woman', 뼈 /pjɛ/ 'bone'
위 /wi/ 'above, top', 뒤 /dwi/ 'rear', 귀 /gwi/ 'ear'
외국 /we:gug/ 'foreign land', 기회 /gihe/ 'opportunity'
왜 /we/ 'why', 불쾌 /bulkwe/ 'displeasure'
과실 /gwasil/ 'fruit', 현관 /hjangwan/ 'entrance-hall'
원수 /wansu/ 'enemy', 정원 /jajwan/ 'garden'
의자 /ija/ 'chair', 사위 /sai/ 'thanks'

2.2.4. Suprasegmental Phonemes

Two degrees of vowel quantity, long and short, are phonologically distinctive, mainly in the first or second syllable of words. The long vowel is marked by /:/ and the short one unmarked, e.g.

/gim/ 'a surname'
깁 /gi:m/ 'laver, seaweed'
살 /sal/ 'flesh'
살 /sa:l/ 'to live'
구조 /gujo/ 'structure'
구조 /gu:jo/ 'rescue'
부동 /budon/ 'inequality', 'dissimilarity'
부동 /budo:n/ 'immobility'

In the open monosyllables pronounced in isolation, the long/short contrast of vowel quantity is usually not distinctive because the lexically short vowels are pronounced just as long as the lexically long vowels, e.g.

배 /be/ 'ship, boat' [be:]
배 /be:/, 'double, twice' [be:]
cf. 배로 /belo/ 'by boat' [bero]
배로 /be:lo/ 'twice as much/many'

2.2.4.1. Vowel Quantity and Stress

Stress is not phonologically distinctive in Korean and therefore belongs along with pitch, which is also lexically irrelevant, to the domain of intonation. However, there is a regular correlation between vowel quantity and stress. Thus, in actual speech, a phonologically long vowel is long if accompanied by a (strong) stress, but it is short if unstressed, e.g.

사람 /'sa:lam/ = ['sa:ram] 'person'
웬사람 /'we:nsa:lam/ = ['we:nsaram] 'some person'
경쟁 /'gja:ŋjeŋ/ = ['gja:ŋjeŋ] 'competition'
자유경쟁 /ja'jugja:ŋjeŋ/ = [ja'ju:gjaŋjeŋ] 'free competition'

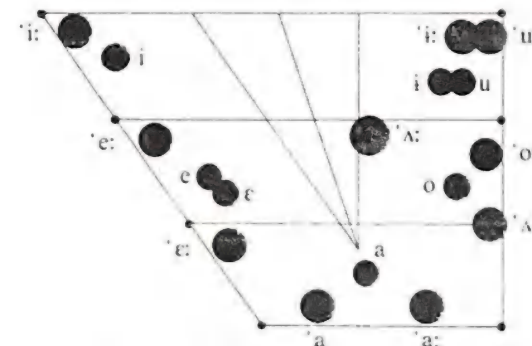
The effect of stress on the syllable quantity is discussed in 2.5 'Syllable Quantity and Stress'.

2.3. PHONETIC DESCRIPTION OF KOREAN PHONEMES

2.3.1. Vowels

The phonetic values of the vowels are described first by reference to the I.P.A. Cardinal Vowel scale and then, for those not familiar with the Cardinal Vowel quadrilateral, by means of key words, i.e., by reference to vowel sounds occurring in other languages. The English vowel sounds referred to in the following sections are those of the British 'Received Pronunciation'

/i:/ = ['i:] /i/ = [i-], /e:/ = ['e-:] /e/ = [e-]
/ɛ:/ = ['ɛ-:] /ɛ/ = [ɛ-], /a:/ = ['a-:] /a/ = [a-]
/o:/ = ['o-:] { /o/ = [o+] } with the lips slightly rounded.
/u:/ = ['u-:] { /u/ = [u+] }
/ʌ:/ = ['ʌ-:] /ʌ/ = [ʌ+], /i:/ = ['i:~:] /i/ = [i+]



¹ Cf. D. Jones, *An Outline of English Phonetics*, 1956, p. 12; A. C. Gimson, *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*, 1962, pp. 83-5.

2.3.1.1. /i/

[i:] is similar to the English vowel occurring in the words 'key', 'sea' etc., and usually pronounced tense. The unstressed short [i] is a lax vowel pronounced with a lower and retracted tongue position than for the stressed long vowel [i:], e.g.

일 /'i:l/ 'affair, business, work'
 실 /'si:l/ 'thread', 이자 /'i:ja/ 'interest'
 미지 /'mi:ji/ 'unknown', 기자 /gi'ja/ 'reporter'

2.3.1.2. /e/

[e:] is similar in quality to the English vowel occurring in words like 'set', 'get' etc., and pronounced tense. Notice that the English vowel is short and it must be lengthened to sound similar to the Korean [e:]. The unstressed short [e] is a lax vowel pronounced with a lower and retracted tongue position than for the stressed long vowel [e:], e.g.

세 /'se:/ 'rent', 회 /'hwe:/ 'meeting'
 외국 /'we:gug/ 'foreign land'
 어제 /'ʌje/ 'yesterday' 세계 /'se:ge/ 'world'

2.3.1.3. /ɛ/

/ɛ:/ is like the English vowel occurring in words such as 'cat', 'sat' etc., and pronounced tense. The unstressed short [ɛ] is a lax vowel with a higher tongue position than for the stressed long [ɛ:], e.g.

애 /'ɛ:/ 'baby, child'
 애기 /'je:gi/ 'story', 해방 /'he:ban/ 'liberation'
 부채 /'bu:ce/ 'debt', 시책 /'si:ceg/ 'policy'

2.3.1.4. /a/

/a:/ is like the English vowel occurring in 'car', 'father' etc., but the short /a/ is similar to the English vowel as in 'cut', 'luck' etc., or to the French vowel in 'bateau', 'chat' etc., e.g.

사자 /'sa:ja/ 'lion', 밤 /'ba:m/ 'chestnut'
 가곡 /'ga:gog/ 'melody, song'
 이발 /'i:bal/ 'hairdressing'
 바다 /ba'da/ 'sea'

2.3.1.5. /o/

[o:] is similar to the English vowel as in 'all', 'call', etc. and pronounced tense. The unstressed short [o] is a lax vowel pronounced with a lower tongue position and weaker lip-rounding than for the stressed long [o:]. The Eng-

lish vowel occurring in words like 'box', 'cock' etc. is very different in quality from the Korean /'o:/ or /o/: the tongue position for the English vowel is much lower than for the Korean vowel. Accordingly English people should be careful not to use the English vowel as in 'box' for the Korean short /o/, e.g.

소 /'so/ 'cow' 옷 /'od/ 'clothes'
 보물 /'bo:mul/ 'treasure' 진보 /'jinbo/ 'progress'
 보도 /'bo:do/ 'report'

2.3.1.6. /u/

[u:] is similar to the English vowel occurring in 'soup', 'cool' etc. and is tense. The unstressed short [u] is a lax vowel pronounced with a lower and advanced tongue position and weaker lip-rounding, e.g.

웃고 /'u:dko/ 'to laugh and'
 윷 /'ju:d/ a traditional Korean game
 교수 /'gyo:su/ 'professor'
 우산 /u'san/ 'umbrella'

2.3.1.7. /ʌ/

This vowel has two distinctly different allophones for many speakers from Seoul, conditioned, in almost every case, by the vowel length. The long /'ʌ:/ [ɔ:] is similar to the English central vowel occurring in words like 'bird', 'heard' etc., but the short /ʌ/ is close to the English vowel occurring in 'cock', 'knock' etc., except that the Korean /ʌ/ is not pronounced with rounded lips as the English vowel, e.g.

벌 /'bʌ:l/ [ɔ:] 'bee', 벌 /'bʌl/ [ɔ:] 'punishment'
 설 /'sʌ:l/ [ɔ:] 'New Year's Day', 설 /'sʌl/ [ɔ:] 'theory'
 현 /'hʌ:n/ [ɔ:] 'old, worn out'
 연설 /'jʌ:nsʌl/ [ɔ:] 'speech'

2.3.1.8. /i/

[i:] is like [u:] pronounced with spread lips. In other words, it is a vowel combining the tongue position of [u:] with the lip position of [i:]. The unstressed short [i], which is pronounced with a lower and advanced tongue position than for [i:] is similar to the English short /u/ occurring in 'put', 'took' etc., but care must be taken not to round the lips when aiming at the Korean [i]. The long [i:] is tense and the short [i] lax, e.g.

그림 /'gi:lim/ [ɔ:] 'painting'
 들 /'di:l/ [ɔ:] 'field'
 아이들 /'aidil/ [ɔ:] 'children'
 느린 /ni'lin/ [nuu'rin] 'slow'

2.3.1.9. Long Unstressed Vowel and Short Stressed Vowel

In describing the phonetic value of the Korean vowels in 2.3.1.1-8, I have dealt only with the long stressed and short unstressed vowels, e.g., [i:] and [i]. This is because they represent extreme vowel qualities. However, there are two other types of vowels. The long unstressed vowel such as [i:] occurs only immediately before a plus juncture or a tentative juncture, and the short stressed vowel such as [i] occurs usually in the V position in the syllable structure (C₁) V C (see 2.4, 'Syllable Structure'), e.g.

(i) Long unstressed vowel

마음이 좋다 /'ma:imi + 'jo:ta/ '[She] is kind.' ['ma:umi: + 'jo:ta]
나중에 가도 된다 /'na:juŋegado, 'dwenda/ 'You may go later.'
['na:juŋegado:, 'dwenda]

(ii) Short stressed vowel

적다 /'jʌŋia/ ['jʌŋia] 'to write down'
쓴다 /'ʃinda/ ['ʃuunda] 'to use or write'
특명 /'tigmjʌŋ/ ['tuŋmjʌŋ] 'special order'

The phonetic value of the unstressed long vowel like [i:] is close to that of the unstressed short vowel like [i], and the value of the stressed short vowel like [i] is close to that of the stressed long vowel like [i:]. For further information about the vowel and consonant quantity, see 2.5, 'Syllable Quantity and Stress'.

2.3.2. Consonants

2.3.2.1. /b, d, g/ Bi-labial, alveolar and velar plosives

(a) In the initial position, these phonemes are pronounced with little or no aspiration, i.e., [p', t', k'] or [b, d, g]. These are lax consonants and are pronounced very lightly and softly, e.g.

발 /bal/ 'foot', 달 /dal/ 'moon'
강 /gaŋ/ 'river'

(b) Between voiced sounds, i.e., between vowels or /m, n, ŋ, l/ and a vowel, these become fully voiced like the English /b, d, g/, i.e., [b, d, g], e.g.

가방 /gabaŋ/ 'brief-case',
사다리 /sadali/ [sadari] 'ladder'
지금 /jigim/ 'now', 심방 /simbaŋ/ 'visit'
신간 /singaŋ/ 'new publication',
영감 /ja:ŋgam/ 'old man'

(c) In the final position of a syllable, they are pronounced without plosion, e.g.

집 jib/ [jip'] 'house'
맛 /mad/ [mat'] 'taste'
국가 /gugka/ [guk'ka] 'nation'

2.3.2.2. /p, t, k/

These consonants, which occur only syllable-initially and never syllable-finally, are pronounced with strong aspiration, e.g.

팔 /pal/ [pʰal] 'arm'
탈 /tal/ [tʰal] 'trouble'
칼 /kal/ [kʰal] 'knife'
차표 /capjo/ [cʰapʰjo] 'ticket'
사탕 /sataŋ/ [satʰaŋ] 'sugar'
식칼 /sigkal/ [sik'kʰal] 'kitchen knife'
석탄 /sʌgtan/ [sʌk'tʰan] 'coal'

2.3.2.3. /p̥, t̥, k̥/

These consonants, which occur only syllable-initially and never syllable-finally, are pronounced with considerable tension in the articulatory organs, and consequently they sound very tense or hard compared to /b, d, g/. These consonants are very similar to the unaspirated /p, t, k/ in French, Chinese and Russian, e.g.

뿔 /p̥ul/ [p̥ʰul] 'horn'
땅 /t̥aŋ/ [t̥ʰaŋ] 'earth'
꿈 /k̥um/ [k̥ʰum] 'dream'
이따 /it̥a/ [it̥ʰa] 'later'
입다 /ip̥t̥a/ [ip̥'t̥ʰa] 'to wear'
젊다 /j̥am̥t̥a/ [j̥am̥t̥ʰa] 'young'

2.3.2.4. /j, c, ç/ Post-alveolar affricates

These are similar both in tongue position and quality to the English affricates occurring in 'chin' and 'judge', but unlike the English affricates, the Korean /j, c, ç/ are pronounced with spread lips.

Examples

/j/ is a voiceless affricate with little or no aspiration in the initial position but fully voiced and unaspirated between voiced sounds. It does not occur syllable-finally, e.g.

잠 /jam/ [jam] 'sleep'
집 /jib/ [jip'] 'house'

지도 /jido/ [jido] 'map'
 의자 /iija/ [iija], 'chair'
 시장 /si:jaŋ/ [si:jaŋ] 'market'
 전쟁 /ja:njeŋ/ [ja:njeŋ] 'war'

/c/ is voiceless and strongly aspirated syllable-initially and it does not occur syllable-finally, e.g.

차 /ca/ [c^ha] 'tea'
 책 /ceg/ [c^hek'] 'book'
 창 /caŋ/ [c^haŋ] 'window'
 기차 /gica/ [gic^ha] 'train'
 육체 /jugce/ [juk^hc^he] 'body'

/c/ is a voiceless unaspirated sound pronounced with a considerable tension in the articulatory organs, and consequently it sounds very hard or tense compared to /j/ which is lax. This consonant occurs only syllable-initially and never syllable-finally, e.g.

짜다 /c^hada/ [c^hada] 'salty'
 찰 /c^ham/ [c^ham] 'time, space'
 가짜 /ga:c^ha/ [ga:c^ha] 'fake'
 곡조 /gogco/ [gok^hc^ho] 'tune, melody'

2.3.2.5. /s, ʃ/ Alveolar fricative

These are both alveolar fricative sounds. /s/ is a lax sound which should be pronounced very softly. It occurs only syllable-initially and never syllable-finally. Sometimes it is accompanied by a slight aspiration, e.g.

산 /san/ 'mountain', 술 /sul/ 'wine'
 의사 /iisa/ 'doctor', 조수 /josu/ 'tide'

/s/, when followed by /i/ or /j/, is palatalized, i.e., [sj], e.g.

신 /sin/ [sjin] 'footwear'
 부서라 /busjara/ [busjara] 'Break [it].'

/ʃ/ is a voiceless, unaspirated sound pronounced with a considerable tension in the articulatory organs and consequently it sounds very tense or hard compared to /s/. This sound is similar to the English 's' sound as in 'sun', 'sack' etc. /ʃ/, like /s/, occurs only syllable-initially and sometimes, though rarely, syllable-finally too when the succeeding syllable begins with the same sound, e.g.

쌀 /sal/ [s'al] 'rice'
 씨름 /silim/ [s'irum] 'wrestling'
 싹 /sag/ [s'ak'] 'sprout'
 썩다 /ʃagia/ [s'ak' t'a] 'to rot'

비싼 /bišan/ [bis'an] 'expensive'
 있어 /iʃʌ/ [is's'ʌ] 'Is [he] there?'

Like /s/, /ʃ/ is palatalized when followed by /i/ or /j/, e.g.

씨 /si/ [s'ji] 'seed'
 씻다 /ʃidja/ [ʃit' t'a] 'to wash'

2.3.2.6. /h/ Glottal fricative

/h/ is realized as the palatal fricative [ç] before [i] or [j], as the velar fricative [x] before [ɨ], as the labio-velar fricative [w] or [ɱ] before /u/ or /w/, and sometimes as the voiced [ɦ] between voiced sounds. Elsewhere it is realized as [h], e.g.

할아버지 /halabaji/ [harabaji] 'grandfather'
 해 /hɛ/ 'sun', 힘 /him/ [çim] 'strength'
 형 /hjaŋ/ [çaŋ] 'brother'
 흙 /hig/ [xuuk'] 'soil'
 후환 /huhwan/ [wuwan] or [yuwan] 'later trouble'

2.3.2.7. /m/ Bilabial nasal

/m/ = [m], e.g.

물 /mul/ 'water', 이마 /ima/ 'forehead'
 짐 /jim/ [jim] 'burden',
 심장 /simjaŋ/ [simjaŋ] or [sjimjaŋ] 'heart'

2.3.2.8. /n/ Alveolar nasal

/n/ is realized as the palatal [ɲ] before /i/ or /j/ and as [n] elsewhere, e.g.

님 /nim/ [ɲim] 'beloved'
 해녀 /henja/ [heɲja] 'mermaid'
 손 /son/ [son] 'hand',
 돈 /don/ [don] 'money'
 문 /mun/ [mun] 'door'

2.3.2.9. /ŋ/ Velar nasal

/ŋ/ is like the 'ng' sound as in 'sing', 'king', e.g.

성 /sa:ŋ/ [sə:ŋ] 'surname'
 방 /baŋ/ [baŋ] 'room'
 송어 /suŋa/ [suŋa] 'trout'

/ŋ/ does not occur after pause or a consonant.

2.3.2.10. /l/ Lateral and Flap

The /l/ phoneme has two allophones, [l] and [ɾ], i.e., a flapped 'r'. For the

sake of convenience [r] is replaced by [ɾ] elsewhere in this book. [l] occurs syllable-finally and after another /l/, and [ɾ] between vowels and between a vowel and /h/. The Korean [l] is a clear and slightly retroflexed sound, i.e., pronounced with the tip of the tongue slightly curled back, e.g.

길 /gil/ [gɨl] 'road'
돌맹이 /dolmɛŋi/ [dɔlmɛŋi] 'stone'
빨리 /palli/ [pʰalli] 'quickly'
길이 /gɨli/ [gɨɾi] 'length'
소리 /soli/ [sɔɾi] 'sound'
결함 /gɨʌlham/ [gɨʌɾ(h)am] 'shortcomings'

2.3.3. Semi-vowels

/j/ and /w/ are like /i/ and /u/, respectively, pronounced very short, i.e., [i̥] and [u̥], e.g.

별 /bjʌ:l/ [bjʌ:l] 'star', or [bjʌ:l̥]
우유 /uju/ [uju] 'milk' or [uju̥]
왜 /wɛ/ [wɛ̥] 'why'
무어 /mwʌ/ [mwʌ̥] 'what'

The phonetic values of the second element in the /j/-initial and /w/-initial diphthongs is the same as that given in 2.3.1. However the diphthong /ii/ may be realised as [wi-], [i̥+ɨ] or [u:] when stressed and [i̥+ɨ-] or [i-] when unstressed, e.g.

의무 /'iimu/ ['wi-mu̥], ['i̥+ɨmu̥] or ['u:mū+] 'duty'
이의 /'i:ii/ ['i̥+ɨ+ɨ-] or ['i:ɨ-] 'dissent'

The particle /ii/ 'of' (cf. 3.4.5.8), which is usually unstressed, is realized as /e/ [ɛ-], e.g.

나의 꿈 /naii kum/ [naɛ k'um] 'my dream'

2.4. THE SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

The canonical form of the Korean phonological syllables may be represented by the following formula, where V stands for vowel, the nucleus, and Cⁱ the initial consonant and C^f the final consonant. The elements in the brackets are optional:

Korean syllable structure: (Cⁱ) V (C^f)

Examples

- (i) V : 이 /i/ 'this', 애 /ɛ/ 'child'
- (ii) CV : 나 /na/ 'I', 소 /so/ 'cow'
- (iii) VC : 알 /al/ 'egg', 알 /i:l/ 'business'
- (iv) CVC : 살 /sal/ 'flesh', 적 /ʃag/ 'enemy'
뺨 /pjam/ 'cheek'
영원 /jʌ:ŋwʌn/ 'eternity'

Any consonant can fill the position Cⁱ in the formula except /ŋ/ and /l/ which can occur only in non-post-pausal positions, i.e., positions other than those following a pause, e.g.

송아지 /soŋaji/ 'calf'
방 /baŋ/ 'room'
다리 /dali/ 'bridge'
차로 /calo/ 'by car'

Any vowel or diphthong can fill the position V, but when Cⁱ is present, the occurrence of some diphthongs in the V position is restricted: the following combinations are very infrequent.¹

$\left. \begin{array}{l} /b/ \\ /p/ \\ /p̥/ \\ /m/ \\ /d/ \\ /t/ \\ /i/ \\ /j/ \\ /c/ \\ /ç/ \\ /s/ \\ /ʃ/ \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /je/ \\ /jɛ/ \\ /wi/ \\ /ii/ \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} /t/ \\ /i/ \\ /j/ \\ /c/ \\ /ç/ \\ /s/ \\ /ʃ/ \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /je/ \\ /jɛ/ \\ /ja/ \\ /jo/ \\ /ju/ \\ /jʌ/ \end{array} \right.$
--	--

However, /s/ + /jʌ/ sequence is very common in verbal suffixes, such as 하셨다 /hasʃasda/, etc.

There are only seven consonants which can fill the position C^f: they are /b/, /d/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /l/.

Examples

/b/ : 밥 /bab/ 'meal', 부엌 /buʌb/ 'sideline'
/d/ : 곧 /god/ 'at once', 밭 /bad/ 'field'
/g/ : 국 /gug/ 'soup', 깎자 /kagça/ 'Let's cut it.'
/m/ : 짐 /jim/ 'burden', 감사 /gamsa/ 'thanks'
/n/ : 산 /san/ 'mountain', 손자 /sonja/ 'grandson'
/ŋ/ : 상 /saŋ/ 'prize', 영국 /jʌŋgug/ 'England'
/l/ : 쌀 /sal/ 'rice', 밀다 /milda/ 'to push'
마을로 /maillo/ 'to a village'

2.5. SYLLABLE QUANTITY AND STRESS

It was stated in discussing 'Vowel Quantity and Stress' (cf. 2.2.4.1) that there is a regular correlation between vowel quantity and stress and that a lexically long vowel is phonetically long if it is accompanied by a (strong) stress, but short if unstressed. This was a true statement about the effect of stress on the

¹ Ung Hō, *Kugō ūmunnon* ('Korean Phonology'), 1968, p. 73.

lexically long vowel. However, it cannot be a complete account of the overall effects of stress because the stress affects not only the lexically long vowels but also short vowels and consonants. In other words, the stress affects the syllable as a whole. The following is a brief description of the effects of stress on the syllable quantity.

(a) A stressed syllable is phonetically longer than an unstressed syllable. Thus in the word 모자 /'mo:ja/ ['mo:ja] 'mother and child' the stressed syllable /'mo:/ is longer than /ja/ which is unstressed.

Similarly, the word 모자 /'moja/ 'hat' in citation form is pronounced ['mo:ja] where /'mo/ is phonetically longer than /ja/.

(b) A stressed open syllable with a lexically long vowel, i.e., (C')V:, is phonetically longer than a stressed open syllable with a lexically short vowel, i.e., (C')V. Thus in

모자 /'mo:ja/ ['mo:ja] 'mother and son'

모자 /'moja/ ['mo:ja] 'cap, hat'

/ 'mo:/ is longer than / 'mo/, and / 'mo/ may be more accurately represented phonetically as ['mo:], where the dot after [o] stands for 'half long'.

(c) The lengthening of a stressed syllable can be effected by a vowel or a consonant, and this depends partly on the syllable structure of the stressed syllable:

(i) If a stressed syllable includes a lexically long vowel, it is the vowel which occurs long and thus contributes to the lengthening of the syllable regardless of whether the syllable structure is (C')V: or (C')V:C', e.g.

보조 /'bo:jo/ ['bo:jo] 'support'

시조 /'si:jo/ ['si:jo] 'founder'

연구 /'ja:ngu/ ['ja:ngu] 'research'

방송 /'ba:ŋsoŋ/ ['ba:ŋsoŋ] 'broadcasting'

(ii) If the stressed syllable includes a lexically short vowel and is of (C')V structure, then the vowel is phonetically long or more accurately half long and the syllable as a whole is longer than an unstressed syllable, e.g.

사다리 /sa'dali/ [sa'da:ri] 'ladder'

이미 /'imi/ ['i:mi] 'already' or /i' mi/ [i' mi:]

On the other hand, if the stressed syllable with a lexically short vowel has the structure (C')VC', then it is the final consonant C', not the vowel, which is lengthened, usually longer than the preceding vowel, and thus contributes to the overall quantity of the syllable, e.g.

벌 /'bal/ ['ba:l] 'punishment'

cf. 벌 /'ba:l/ ['ba:l] 'bee'

밤 /'bam/ ['ba:m] 'night'

cf. 밤 /'ba:m/ ['ba:m] 'chestnut'

전도 /'jando/ ['jan:do] 'mission, transmission'

cf. 전도 /'ja:ndo/ ['ja:ndo] 'fall'

적다 /'jagja/ ['jak't'a] 'to write down'

cf. 적다 /'ja:gia/ ['ja:k't'a] 'small'

The observation of the lengthening of the final consonant in the stressed syllable of (C')V C' structure is by no means new. G. J. Ramstedt mentioned this phenomenon in his *Korean Grammar* as far back as 1939, but unfortunately, this important observation has not been developed any further, either by Ramstedt himself or other scholars, as an important stepping stone for additional research in stress, quantity and ultimately 'Rhythm' of Korean.

2.6. STRESS GROUP¹

'Stress Group' is an important phonological unit, larger and hierarchically higher than the syllable, and serves as a basis for any serious discussion on Korean 'Rhythm' and 'Intonation'. It may also be called the 'Rhythmic Unit' insofar as it functions as a basic unit of Korean rhythm.

The stress group is here defined as a strongly stressed syllable with or without preceding and/or following weakly stressed or unstressed syllable(s). In other words, a stress group may consist of one stressed syllable or one such syllable plus one or more unstressed syllable(s).

Examples

One stress group

무어 /'muə/ 'What?'

무어요 /'muəjo/ 'What?'

넌 무어야 /nən'muəja/ 'What about you?'

그럼 /gi'ləm/ 'Of course.'

너 무어하고 있니 /nən'muəhagoinni/ 'What are you doing?'

Two stress groups

네네 /'ne'ne/ 'Yes, yes.'

잘가 /'jal'ga/ 'Go safely.'

나라도 할까 /na'lado'halka/ '[Do you think] I can do it?'

왜 갑자기 떠나니 /we'gabčagi'la'nani/

'Why are you leaving so suddenly?'

Three stress groups

하나 둘 셋 /ha'na'du:l'se:d/ 'one, two, three'

오늘은 날이 춥구나 /o'nilin na'li'cubkuna/ 'It is cold today.'

¹ Hyun-Bok Lee, 'A Study of Korean Intonation', 1964, 3.10. For further details concerning the stress group and various related problems see also 3.10.1-6, pp. 61-80.

그 전쟁이 끝나자 돌아왔다 /gi'ja:njeŋi 'kinnaJa dola'wadia/
'He came back as soon as that war ended.'

In the above examples of two and three stress groups a space is used to indicate the boundary between two successive stress groups.

2.6.1. Stress Group and Word

The phonological unit 'Stress Group' and the grammatical unit 'Word' (cf. 3.1) do not always correspond. A stress group may include more than a word, which is usually the case, and it may consist of part of a word, e.g.

(a) Stress group = Word

다섯 여섯 일곱 /'dasad 'jasad 'ilgob/ 'five, six, seven'
아 그래 /'a gi'le/ 'Oh, is that so?'

(b) Stress group of more than a word

아침신문이 여기있다 /a'cimšinmuni ja'giita/
'The morning paper is here.'
또 왜 왔어 /io'wewaša/ 'Why did you come again?'

(c) Stress group of part of a word

몰라 /'mol 'la/ 'You don't know [this]?'
아니 /'a 'ni/ 'No, [not that]!'

2.6.2. Rules Governing the Number of Stress Groups and the Position of Stress

It is clear by now that an utterance or a sentence consists of, or is analysed into, one or more stress group(s) in spoken Korean. But what is not known is how many stress groups a given sentence is to be analysed into and which syllable in a stress group is to be stressed. Rules can be formulated whereby one may predict the possible number of stress groups in a sentence and the position of the stress within a stress group.

2.6.2.1. Number of Stress Groups in a Sentence

There are several factors which determine the number of stress groups in a given sentence.

2.6.2.1.1. Length of Sentence

A long sentence including many words tends to be broken into more stress groups than a shorter one, e.g.

오늘은 날씨가 좋아서 하늘에 구름이 없다
/o'nilin 'nalšiga 'jo:asa ha'nile gu'limi 'a:bŕa/
'As the weather is fine today, there is no cloud in the sky.'
네 /'ne/ 'Yes'

2.6.2.1.2. Tempo of Speech

The faster the tempo of speech the fewer stress groups there tend to be in a sentence, e.g.

(a) Slow tempo (six stress groups)

/o'nilin 'nalšiga 'jo:asa ha'nile gu'limi 'a:bŕa/

(b) Fast tempo (four stress groups)

/o'nilin 'nalšiga:jo:asa ha'nile gu'limi:a:bŕa/

(c) Faster tempo (two stress groups)

/onilin 'nalšiga:jo:asa hanile gu'limi:a:bŕa/

2.6.2.1.3. Grammatical Factor

(i) Particles (cf. 3.3.5) occur usually as part of a stress group except in a very slow and emphatic speech when they can form a separate stress group on their own, e.g.

날씨가 /'nalšiga/ 'the weather'
하늘에 /ha'nile/ 'in the sky'
구름이 /gu'limi/ 'the cloud'
cf. /'nalši 'ga/

(ii) The elements of a clause (cf. 6.2) such as 'Subject' 'Predicate', 'Object', 'Adjunct' etc., tend to form a separate stress group in slow speech, although they tend to lose the stress and become part of the preceding or following stress group. In particular, the end of a non-final adverbial clause nearly always indicates the stress group boundary, e.g.

/o'nilin 'nalšiga 'jo:asa ha'nile gu'limi 'a:bŕa/
A S P A S P
nf.cl.

The number of syllables found in a stress group pronounced at the normal tempo varies from one to five or six.

2.6.2.2. Position of Stress within a Stress Group

The factors determining the position of stress within a stress group are (i) Syllable structure (ii) Lexically long vowel; (iii) Attitude; and (iv) Emphasis. Factors (i) and (ii) are also important criteria for determining the stressed syllable of individual words.

2.6.2.2.1. Syllable Structure as Determining Factor

(i) If a stress group has the syllable structure (C)V (C)V(C) CV(C) C..., it is usually the second syllable which carries the stress unless the first

syllable has a lexically long vowel, in which case the first syllable is stressed, e.g.

우아 /u'a/ 'elegance, grace'

아기 /a'gi/ 'baby'

무어 /mu'Λ/ 'what'

어머니 /Λ'mani/ 'mother'

하다가 /ha'daga/ 'while doing'

도라지 /do'laji/ 'Chinese bellflower'

노래로 /no'lelo/ 'in song'

희망의 날 /hi'maŋenal/ 'the day of hope'

서울대학교 /sΛ'uldehagkjo/ 'Seoul University'

집어라 /ji'bala/ 'Pick [it] up.'

가겠오 /ga'geŋso/ 'Will you go?'

but

사람 /'sa:lam/ 'man, person'

이도령 /'i:do:ŋŋ/ 'Mr/Master Lee'

보관소 /'bo:gwanso/ 'depository'

- (ii) If a stress group has the structure (C)VC CV(C) CV(C) C... it is the first syllable which is stressed irrespective of the lexical vowel quantity of the first syllable, e.g.

적다 { /'ja:ɡia/ 'to be small'

/ 'jaɡia/ 'to write down'

양모 { /'ja:ŋmo/ 'foster mother'

/ 'jaŋmo/ 'sheep's fleece'

영국사람 /'jaŋɡuɡsa:lam/ 'Englishman'

언제부터 /'Λ:njebutΛ/ 'Since when?'

먹습니다 /'maɡŋsimnida/ '[He] is eating.'

cf. /mΛ'gaŋsimnida/ '[He] ate.'

The last two examples show clearly how the syllable structure determines the position of the stress.

2.6.2.2.2. Lexically Long Vowel

This factor has already been discussed in relation to 'Syllable Structure as Determining Factor' (cf. preceding section).

2.6.2.2.3. Attitude as Determining Factor

The attitude¹ of a speaker, which is closely related to 'Intonation', may determine the stress position within a stress group. For instance, the stress shifted to the last syllable of a stress group, especially of a last stress group in a sentence, indicates a warm and friendly attitude on the part of the speaker towards a listener. On the other hand, the stress may shift to the first syllable of a stress group to show a solemn authoritative attitude, e.g.

어째서 /Λ'çesΛ/ 'Why?' — normal

/Λçε' sΛ/ 'Why?' — friendly

/ 'ΛçesΛ/ 'Why?' — authoritative

¹ See Hyun-Bok Lee, 'A Study of Korean Intonation', 1964, 3.10.3.3.

The forward shifting of the stress from the second syllable to the first in the words of (C)V CV(C) C... structure seems to be not infrequent when they occur in isolation or in citation, e.g. /'moja/ 'cap' (cf. 2.5(a)). Notice that /mo'ja/ is more frequent than /'moja/ even as a citation form.

2.6.2.2.4. Emphasis as Determining Factor

This factor is concerned with a long stress group, i.e., one consisting of many syllables, and accounts for the way in which the speaker places the stress on a word which he considers to be important within the stress group. For instance, in 오늘은 날씨가 좋아서 하늘에 구름이 없다 /onilin'nalŋiga:asΛ hanile gu'limi Λ:bŋa/ 'As the weather is fine today, there is no cloud in the sky', /nalŋi/ 'weather' and /gulim/ are chosen as the words to be emphasized and accordingly stressed.

2.7. JUNCTURE

A sequence of phonemes may have two different meanings depending on where one makes a short momentary break. For instance, the sequence /aba:jigabaŋe/ translates 'Father in the room', when it is pronounced as /aba:jiga baŋe/ with a short break between /ga/ and /ba/, but it means 'In the father's briefcase', if the same sequence is pronounced as /aba:ji gababaŋe/ with a break between /ji/ and /ga/. Such a break or pause is called 'Juncture.'

There are three types of juncture in Korean:

- (i) Plus juncture /+/
- (ii) Tentative juncture /,/
- (iii) Terminal juncture /./

The three junctures are established by the combined criteria of the phonetic features associated with the syllable immediately preceding and following the junctures and the physical pause.

The plus juncture /+/, which may or may not be accompanied by a short momentary pause, is realized as a slight prolongation of the immediately preceding syllable. For example in /aba:jiga + baŋe/ 'Father [is] in the room', the syllable /ga/ is prolonged a little and the phoneme /b/ after the plus juncture is realized as a voiceless plosive sound [b] or [p']. On the other hand, in /aba:ji + gababaŋe/ 'in Father's briefcase' it is the syllable /ji/ which is prolonged and the /g/ after the plus juncture is realized as a voiceless sound [g] or [k'] whereas the /b/ in /gababaŋe/ is now fully voiced [b]. Perhaps it is worth mentioning in passing that the pre-junctural open syllable is the place where a lexically short vowel is realized as an unstressed long or half-long vowel (cf. 2.3.1.9). Thus /a'ba:ji/ and /a'ba:jiga/ are phonetically realized as [a'ba:ji:] and [a'ba:jiga:] respectively.

The tentative juncture /,/ which is usually accompanied by a pause longer than that of the plus juncture, is realized as a prolongation of the immediately preceding syllable on a rising or falling pitch, whereas the pitch contour associated with the syllable preceding the plus juncture is usually level, e.g.

- 끊어버려 /kɪnɐ, bɐljɐ/ 'Cut and throw it away.'
 /kɪnɐ + bɐljɐ/ 'Cut it off.'
 갔나봐요 /ganna, bwajo/ 'See if he's gone.'
 /ganna + bwajo/ or /gannabwajo/ 'I think he's gone.'

The terminal juncture /./ is always accompanied by a pause, usually, but not necessarily, longer than that of the tentative juncture, and the rising or falling pitch contour associated with the syllable immediately preceding the terminal juncture is more extensive than in the case of other junctures. The terminal juncture occurs at the end of a sentence (cf. 7.1), and the plus and tentative junctures occur usually within a sentence, marking structures smaller than a sentence, i.e., clause, phrase or word. The contrasts of the plus, tentative, terminal junctures and junctureless transition are illustrated below:

- 1(a) 오늘아침 신문봤니
 /o'nilacim, 'sinmunbwanni./
 'Did you read a newspaper this morning?'
 (b) 오늘 아침신문 봤니
 /o'nil (+) acimsinmun, 'bwanni./
 'Did/have you read this morning's paper?/'
 (c) 오늘 아침신문 봤니
 /o'nil, a'cimsinmun +/, 'bwanni./
 'Have you read a morning paper today?'
 (d) 오늘 아침 신문봤니
 /o'nil, a'cim, 'sinmunbwanni./
 'Did you read a paper today, in the morning.'

- 2(a) 네가 가야 된다
 /nega'gaja(+)¹ dwenda./ 'You must go.'
 (b) 네가 가야 된다
 /nega'gaja, 'dwenda./ 'It will work [only] when/if you go/[are there].'
 3(a) 밥을 먹고 있겠다
 /babil +/, 'magko + 'idkedtia./ '[He] may be having his meal [now].'
 (b) 밥을 먹고 있겠다
 /babil +/, 'magko, 'idkedtia./
 '[He] may be staying [there] after having his meal.'

The plus juncture often serves to distinguish a phrase from a compound word which does not include a juncture, e.g.

- 보리쌀 /bo'liɕal/ 'barley (grains)' — compound word
 보리 쌀 /bo'li + ɕal/ 'barley and rice' — phrase
 산길 /'sankil/ 'mountain path' — compound word
 산 길 /'san + gil/ 'mountain and path' — phrase

It is to be noted that the plus juncture and tentative juncture are not always contrastive or distinctive, the occurrence of one or the other depending on the tempo of speech or individual speech habit. The same is true of the contrast between the plus juncture and junctureless transition. For example, in the following sentences

- 먹고 있겠다 /'magko + 'idkedtia./
 '[He] may be having his meal [now].'
 먹고 있겠다 /'magko, 'idkedtia./
 '[He] may be staying [there] after having his meal.'

the plus and tentative juncture are distinctive, but they are not in the following examples:

- 밥을 먹고 /ba'bil +/, 'magko./ 'after eating'
 바보와 거지 /'ba:bowa +/, 'ga:ji/ 'a fool and a beggar'

Similarly, the plus juncture and a junctureless transition are distinctive in the

- 보리 쌀 /bo'li + ɕal/ 'barley and rice'
 보리쌀 /bo'liɕal/ 'barley (grains)'

but they are not in

- 끊어 버려 /kɪ'na + bɐ'lja/ 'Cut it off.'
 끊어버려 /kɪ'nɐbɐlja/ 'Cut it off.'

Note that the juncture and the stress group boundary coincide, i.e., every stress group is followed by a juncture, whether plus, tentative or terminal. Thus 하나 둘 /ha'na 'dul/ 'one, two' may be juncturally realized as

- /ha'na + 'dul./
 하나 둘 /ha'na, 'dul./
 /ha'na. 'dul./

From now on, the plus juncture /+ / will be marked by the space given between two consecutive stress groups, and the terminal juncture occurring at the end of a sentence and followed by the oblique will not be marked, to simplify the notation.

2.8. INTONATION

The intonation system employed in this work is the one set up by the author elsewhere¹ for purposes not directly related to grammatical or syntactic

¹ See Hyun-Bok Lee, 'A Study of Korean Intonation', 1964.

description. That is to say, the following seventeen intonation tunes were originally abstracted on the basis of the contrastive attitudinal meanings which they carry.

Falling Tunes

1. Low Fall /_ˌne/ 'Yes'
2. High Fall /^ˈne/ 'Yes'
3. Full Fall /_ˌne/ 'Yes'

Rising Tunes

4. Low Rise /_ˌne/
5. High Rise /^ˈne/
6. Full Rise /_ˌne/

Falling-Rising Tunes

7. Low Fall-Rise /_ˌne/
8. High Fall-Rise /^ˈne/

Rising-Falling Tunes

9. Low Rise-Fall /_ˌne/
10. High Rise-Fall /^ˈne/

Falling-Rising-Falling Tunes

11. Low Fall-Rise-Fall /_ˌne/
12. High Fall-Rise-Fall /^ˈne/

Rising-Falling-Rising Tunes

13. Low Rise-Fall-Rise /_ˌne/
14. High Rise-Fall-Rise /^ˈne/

Level Tunes

15. Low Level Tune /_ˌne/
16. Mid Level Tune /-ne/
17. High Level Tune /^ˈne/

Every tune may be realized on one or more syllables, and the syllable at which a tune begins, i.e., the one before which the tonetic mark is placed, is strongly stressed. That is to say, an intonational tune is realized over a stress group, and consequently, there are as many intonational tunes as there are stress groups in a sentence.

In the following diagrammatic representations of intonational tunes, two parallel lines indicate the upper and lower limit of the normal voice range: = stands for the pitch of a stressed syllable and — that of an unstressed syllable.

- (a) 왜 /_ˌwɛ/ 'Why?' 왜요 /_ˌwɛjo/ 'Why?'
 =
 —
- (b) 가십시오 /_ˌgasibɕijo/ 'Please go!'
 = — — —
- (c) 가 /^ˈga/ 'Go?' 빨리 가 /^ˈpalliga/ 'Go quickly?'
 =
 = —
- (d) 왜 /^ˈwɛ/ 'Why?' 왜 가요 /^ˈwɛgajo/ 'Why are you going?'
 = —
 = —
- (e) 왜 /^ˈwɛ/ 'Why?' 먼저가니 /^ˈmanjagani/ 'Are you going first?'
 = — —
 = — —
- (f) 그래요 /-gilejo/ 'Is that so?'
 = — —
- (g) 날아 갑니까? /nala'gamnika/ 'Is it flying away?'
 — — = — —
- (h) 그는 전쟁이 끝나자 돌아 왔다 /ginin-JA:njeŋi .kinnaja, dola, wadja/
 — — = — — = — — = —
 '[He] returned as soon as the war ended.'

2.9. INTONEMES

In relating intonation to grammar it has been found that not every one of the 17 intonational tunes is grammatically distinctive. In fact, for the type of syntactic description made in this book, only four kinds of intonational contrast are found to be syntactically relevant. Accordingly, the 17 intonational tunes set up according to the attitudinal functions are here reclassified into the four syntactically relevant classes, each having a distinct function as the phonological exponent of syntactic categories and relations. The four intonation classes, termed 'Intonemes' to stress the grammatical or syntactical, rather than attitudinal, function(s), and their membership are as follows:

- (i) Intoneme LF (Low Fall):
 - (a) Low Fall, (b) Low Rise-Fall, (c) Low Fall-Rise-Fall
- (ii) Intoneme HF (High Fall):
 - (a) High Fall, (b) Full Fall,
 - (c) High Rise-Fall, (d) High Fall-Rise-Fall
- (iii) Intoneme R (Rise):
 - (a) Low Rise, (b) High Rise, (c) Full Rise
 - (d) Low Fall-Rise, (e) High Fall-Rise,
 - (f) Low Rise-Fall-Rise, (g) High Rise-Fall-Rise
- (iv) Intoneme L (Level):
 - (a) Low Level, (b) High Level, (c) Mid Level

Syntactical contrasts exhibited by intonemes may be exemplified as follows:

- (a) Intoneme LF
 - 누가 가 /nuga.ga/ 'Someone is going.'
- (b) Intoneme HF
 - 누가 가 /nuga.ga/ 'Who is going?'
- (c) Intoneme R
 - 누가 가 /nuga.ga/ 'Is anyone going?'
- (d) Intoneme L + Intoneme LF
 - 먹고 있다 /mægko.idia/ '[He] is eating.'
- (e) Intoneme LF + Intoneme LF
 - 먹고 있다 /mægko.idia/
 - '[He] is [in the room] after meal (after having eaten).'

2.10. TRANSCRIPTION

Except in certain contexts where a morphemic transcription is used to show the internal structure of grammatical forms more clearly, the transcription system employed in this book is a phonemic one whereas the Korean orthography is in principle morphemic or morphophonemic in that every morpheme or word is uniformly represented by its base form wherever it occurs. For instance the Korean words for 'light' and 'comb' are both pronounced the same, i.e., /bid/ when they occur in isolation or are followed by a word that begins with a consonant; but they are spelt differently in the Korean orthography, i.e., 빛 'light'; 빗 'comb'.

Now the reason why the above two words are spelt differently in the Korean writing system even though they are pronounced the same in some contexts is because they are in fact pronounced differently in some other contexts, i.e., when they are followed by a particle that begins with a vowel. For instance, before the subject particle /i/, these words are phonemically represented as 빛이/bici/ 'the light'; 빗이/bisi/ 'the comb'.

It is therefore necessary to give some kind of rule whereby one can work out the phonemic transcription from the Korean spelling. The rules given below are general and if we apply one or more of them to the Korean orthography, or to the examples given in the Korean orthography, the resultant form will be a correct phonemic transcription, unless the particular example involves an irregular morphophonemic change. Such cases of irregular change cannot be covered by the general rules listed here, but must be dealt with individually as they occur. The most common type of irregular morphophonemic change is found in compound nouns, e.g.

- 냇가 /nedka/ 'bank of a stream'
- < /nɛ/ 'stream' + /ga/ 'side, edge'
- 옷안 /odan/ 'inside of clothes'
- < /od/ (< os) 'clothes' + /an/ 'inside'

In the compound word /nedka/, we have an extra phoneme /d/, or the grapheme 's' as it is known to Korean scholars, because the same phenomenon is indicated in Korean orthography by an additional 's' letter called '사이시옷' /saisiod/. This additional /d/ is something that cannot be explained in terms of these general rules, whereas the change /g/ to /k/ is a straightforward case. Similarly, the word /odan/ is not the form that one would expect in the light of the general rules, i.e., /osan/.

To derive a phonemic transcription from the Korean spelling (or a morphemic transcription) one or more of the following rules must be applied.

1. *b/d/g/j/s* > /p/, /t/, /k/, /c/, /s/ when immediately preceded by a plosive consonant, e.g.
 입고 *ibgo* > /ibko/ 'to wear and'
 업다 *abda* > /abia/ 'to carry on the back'
 석 달 *sa:g dal* > /sa:gia/ 'three months'
 악보 *agbo* > /agpo/ 'musical note'
 돕게 *dobge* > /dobke/ 'Help [him].'
 받지 *badji* > /badci/ '[I will] take [it].'
 믿소 *midso* > /midšo/ '[I] believe so.'
2. *b/d/g/j/s* > /p/, /t/, /k/, /c/, /s/ when immediately preceded by a /l/-final word, and by a /l/-final morpheme in many Sino-Korean words, e.g.
 가릴 벽 *galil bjag* > /galilpjag/ 'a wall to cover'
 열 달 *ja:l dal* > /ja:lia/ 'ten months'
 찰 공 *cal gon* > /calkon/ 'a ball to kick'
 살 집 *sal jib* > /salcib/ 'a house to buy'
 올 사람 *ol sa:lam* > /olsa:lam/ 'a person to come'
 발달 *baldal* > /balia/ 'development'
 걸작 *galjag* > /galcag/ 'masterpiece'
 실수 *silsu* > /silšu/ 'mistake'
3. *d/g/j/s* > /t/, /k/, /c/, /s/ when preceded by a verb stem ending in *m/n* or *lb/lp/lt/lg/lm/bs/nj*, e.g.
 감다 *gamda* > /gamia/ 'to close'
 남게 *namge* > /namke/ 'Stay behind.'
 심자 *simja* > /simca/ 'Let's sow [seeds].'
 신세 *sinse* > /sinše/ 'Let's put on [shoes].'
 얇다 *jalbda* > /jalbia/ 'thin' (> /jalia/ cf. rule 8)
 읊자 *ilpja* > /ilpca/ 'Let's recite' (> /ibca/ cf. rule 8)
 핥다 *haltda* > /halia/ 'to lick' (cf. rule 7 and 2)
 긁지 *gilgji* > /gilgci/ '[Does he] scratch?' (> /gigci/ cf. rule 6 and 1)
 젊소 *jalmso* > /jalmšo/ '[You are] young.' (> /jamšo/ by rule 7)
 없다 *abdsda* > /a:bia/ 'to lack' (< /a:bsia/ cf. rule 4)
 앉다 *anjda* > /ania/ 'to sit' (< /anjia/ cf. rule 7)
4. *p/bs* > /b/ in the environment –C/#, e.g.
 값 *gabs* > /gab/ 'price'
 깎다 *gipda* > /gibda/ (> /gibia/ cf. rule 1)
5. *t/s/š/j/c* > /d/ in the environment –C/#, e.g.
 같고 *gatgo* > /gadgo/ 'is the same and' (> /gadko/ cf. rule 1)
 벗게 *basge* > /badge/ 'Take off [shirt].' (> /badke/ cf. rule 1)

- 값지 *gašji* > /gadji/ '[She] has gone.' (> /gadci/ cf. rule 1)
 멎더라도 *majdallado* > /maddallado/ 'even if [it] stops'
 (> /madialado/ cf. rule 1)
 꽃 *koc* > /kod/ 'flower'
6. *k/k/gs/lg* > /g/ in the environment –C/#, e.g.
 부엌 *buak* > /buag/ 'kitchen'
 낚다 *nakda* > /nagda/ 'to catch [fish]' (> /nagia/ cf. rule 1)
 삿 *sags* > /sag/ 'fee, wage'
 닭 *dalg* > /dag/ 'chicken'
7. *lm/lt/nj* > /m/, /l/, /n/ in the environment –C/#, e.g.
 삶 *salm* > /sam/ 'life, living'
 젊다 *jalmda* > /jamda/ 'to be young' (> /jamia/ cf. rule 3)
 핥고 *haltgo* > /halgo/ 'to lick and' (> /halko/ cf. rule 2)
 앉게 *anjge* > /ange/ 'Sit down.' (> /anke/ cf. rule 3)
8. *lb/lp* > /l/ or /b/ in the environment –C/#, e.g.
 짧다 *calbda* > /caldal/ 'short' (> /calia/ cf. rule 2)
 읊다 *ilpda* > /ilda/ 'to recite' (> /ilia/ cf. rule 2)
 > /ibda/ (> /ibia/ cf. rule 1)
9. *b/d/g* > /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ in the environment –m/n, e.g.
 밥 맛 *bab mas* > /bammad/ 'appetite' (< /bammass/ cf. rule 5)
 김네 *gibne* > /gimne/ '[She] is sewing.'
 걸나 *gal:na* > /gal:nna/ 'Are you walking?'
 영국 날씨 *janggug nalši* > /janggugnalši/ 'English weather'
10. *n* > /l/ in the environment –l or l–, e.g.
 천 리 *can li* > /calli/ 'a thousand leagues'
 열 나라 *ja:l nala* > /ja:llala/ 'ten countries'
 갈 날 *gal nal* > /gallal/ 'day of departure'
11. *d/t* > /c/ in the environment –hi/i; *d* > /j/ in the environment –i, e.g.
 닫히다 *dadhida* > /dacida/ 'to be closed'
 같이 *gati* > /gaci/ 'together'
 굳이 *gudi* > /guji/ 'firmly'
12. Verb stem final (*n/lh* + *g/d/j* > /*(n/l)k*, /*(n/l)t*, /*(n/l)c*/, e.g.
 좋고 *jo:h* 'to be good' + -go > /jo:ko/
 많다 *ma:nh* 'to be many' + -da > /ma:nta/
 옳지 *olh* 'to be correct' + -ji > /olci/

13. Verb stem final *lh* + *n/s* > /ln/, /ls/, e.g.

알네 *alh-* 'to be ill' + *-ne* > /alne/ (> /alle/ cf. rule 10)

알소 *alh-* 'to be ill' + *-so* > /also/ (> /also/ cf. rule 2)

14. Verb stem final *h* + *n/s* > /dn/, /ds/, e.g.

좋네 *jo:h-* 'to be good' + *-ne* > /jo:dne/ (> /jo:nne/ cf. rule 9)

좋소 *jo:h-* 'to be good' + *-so* > /jo:dso/ (> /jo:dso/ cf. rule 1)

15. *d/t* > /s/ when followed by /s/, e.g.

믿소 /midso/ '(I) believe so.' > /misso/ (cf. rule 1)

좋소 /jo:dso/ '(It) is good.' > /jo:sso/ (cf. rule 1)

III

WORD AND WORD CLASSES

3.1. DEFINITION OF WORD

Any form which exhibits the characteristics of (i) relative fixity of internal structure, (ii) freedom of positional mobility in larger structures, and (iii) independence, is a word.

(i) Relative fixity of internal structure

The internal make-up of words cannot be altered¹ or the components re-arranged, and in the case of words comprising more than one morpheme, the order of morphemes is also fixed. For instance, in the following examples,

벗나간다 *bisnaganda* /binnaganda/ '[It] is going astray.'

< *bis-* 'astray' prfx. + *naga-* 'to go out' V.st. + *-nda* inflx.sfx.

풋과실 *pusgwasil* /pudkwasil/ 'unripe fruits'

< *pus-* 'unripe' prfx. + *gwasil* 'fruit' N.

no internal alteration or re-arrangement is possible, except as already noted. Also, no intra-morphemic interruption by other forms or junctures is possible in normal speech.

(ii) Freedom of positional mobility

Words have the maximum freedom of positional mobility in syntactic structures. The best example of this criterion is provided by verbs, which when appropriately inflected, may function in many different syntactic positions, e.g.

V as sentence predicate

외국에 갑니다 *weguge gamnida* '[He] is going abroad.'

V

V as a non-final clause

가면 좋다 *gamjan jota* 'It is good if [you] go.'

V

V as an adjectival clause

가는 사람 *ganin sa:lam* 'the one who is going'

V

V as a nominal clause

감이 쉽다 *gami swibda* 'Going is easy.'

V

¹ Except for the change in the phonological shape which is due to morphophonemic alterations.

(iii) Independence

All words may occur alone preceded and followed by the terminal juncture, i.e., as a sentence, except adjectives and particles (cf. 3.3.3 and 3.3.5), which rarely occur alone, e.g.

집 *jib* 'house' N
 언제 *anje* 'When?' N
 길다 *gilda* '[It] is long.' V
 오 *o* 'Oh!' Interj.
 천천히 *cancanhi* 'slowly' Adv.

3.1.1. Phonological Criterion for the Definition of Word

Most words have a stress on one of the first two syllables when they occur as citation forms, i.e., in isolation, and have the potential of taking one when they occur in larger constructions, with the exception of particles (cf. 3.3.5) which usually occur weakly stressed or unstressed (2.6.2.1.3), e.g.

연구 *'ja:ngu* 'research'
 친구 *'cingu* 'friend'
 서울 *sa:ul* or /sʌ'ul/ 'Seoul'
 구조 *gu'jo* 'structure'
 투쟁 *tu'jeŋ* 'struggle'
 자동차 *ja'doŋca* 'car'
 소리가 참 좋다 *so'liga 'cam 'jota* 'The sound is very good.'
 친구가 오는 날 *'cinguga o'nin 'nal* 'the day when a friend is coming'
 자동차를 본 아이 *ja'doŋcalil 'bon 'ai* 'the child who saw the car'

However, the phonological criterion of stress is not consistently applicable in the definition of word since some words may have more than one stress for emphasis and sometimes lose the stress altogether when occurring in longer stretches of speech. Therefore the stress is only supplementary to the grammatical criteria given earlier.

3.2. TYPES OF WORDS

There are two types of word: simple and compound.

3.2.1. Simple Word

Every word which consists of a single free morpheme, with or without one or more bound morphemes, is a simple word. The morpheme may be defined as a minimal meaningful form which cannot be further analysed into smaller units. A free morpheme can occur on its own, whereas a bound morpheme

never occurs except as part of a free morpheme or with another bound morpheme, e.g.

해 *he* 'sun' 달 *dal* 'moon'
 나무 *namu* 'tree' 여름 *jalim* 'summer'
 풋사랑 *pussalaj* 'calf love' < *pus-* 'unripe' prfx. + *salaj* 'love'
 햅쌀 *hebsal* 'new [crop] rice' < *heb* 'new' + *sal* 'rice'
 이상적 *isangjal* 'ideal' < *isaj* 'ideal' N + *jal* adj.deriv.sfx.

3.2.2. Compound Word

Every word which consists of more than one free morpheme and is uninterrupted by a juncture at intermorphemic junctions is a compound word. One of the components of a compound word may comprise a bound morpheme. The majority of compound words are composed of two free morphemes and those comprising three or more are very rare, e.g.

나팔꽃 *napalkod* 'morning-glory' < *napal* 'bugle' + *kod* 'flower'
 쌀밥 *salbab* 'rice food' < *sal* 'rice' + *bab* 'rice [boiled] food'
 햅쌀밥 *hebsalbab* 'new rice food' < *heb-* 'new' prfx. + *salbab*
 자라목아지 *jalamogaji* 'turtle-neck' < *jala* 'turtle' + *mog* 'neck'
 + *-aji* diminutive sfx.
 여우꼬리풀 *jukolipul* Veronica kiusiana < *jau* 'fox' + *koli* 'tail'
 + *pul* 'plant, grass'
 돈벌이 *donpali* 'money-making' < *don* 'money' + *bal* 'to earn'
 + *-i* nominalizing sfx.

3.3. WORD CLASSES

Six main classes of words are set up for the subsequent syntactic description on the basis of syntactic and/or morphological criteria. They are:

1. Verb [V]
2. Noun [N]
3. Adjective [Adj.]
4. Adverb [Adv.]
5. Particle [Pcl.]
6. Interjection [Interj.]

Of the six word classes, only verbs are the inflected words and the rest are the uninflected words.

3.3.1. Verb

Every word which includes at least a stem and an inflectional ending (cf. 4.3.5) is a verb class word. Between a verb stem and an inflectional ending

may be found one or more stem-extending suffixes representing such grammatical categories as 'voice', 'honorific', 'tense' and 'humble' (cf. 4.3). The majority of verbs, when appropriately inflected, may occur alone as a major type sentence (cf. 7.2), but verb stems alone are bound forms and can never occur without an inflectional ending, e.g.

- 온다 *onda* '[He] is coming.' < *o-* 'to come' V.st. + *-n* tense
+ *-da* inflex.end.
깎았니 *kakanni* '[Did] [you] cut [it]?' < *kak-* 'to cut' V.st.
+ *-aš-* tense + *-ni* inflex.end.
보시었습니다 *bosišimnida* '[She] has seen [it].' < *bo-* 'to see' V.st.
+ *-si-* honorific + *-aš-* tense + *-ibnida* inflex.end.
밝으니까 *balgiomnika* 'Is [it] bright?' < *balg-* 'to be bright' V.st.
+ *-io-* 'humble' + *-bnika* inflex.end.

3.3.2. Noun

Every word which may occur (a) before the copula verb *i-* 'to be' (cf. 3.4.1.1.1), (b) before a particle (cf. 3.3.5), (c) before another noun, (d) after an adjective (cf. 3.3.3), is a noun class word. Any noun except non-independent nouns (cf. 3.4.2.2) may occur alone as a minor sentence (cf. 7.1 and 7.4), e.g.

- (a) 사람이다 *sa:lam ida* '[He] is a man.'
누구이었습니까 *nugu i:šimnika* 'Who was it?'
(b) 바다로 *bada lo* 'to the sea'
자유 노래 *jaju ii nolē* 'a song of freedom'
(c) 텔레비 방송 *telebi baŋsoŋ* 'television broadcast'
(d) 온 세상 *on sesaŋ* 'the whole world'

3.3.3. Adjective

Every word which exclusively precedes a noun or another adjective is an adjective class word. The adjective class words do not normally occur alone and constitute a very small class, e.g.

- (a) 새 차 *se ca* 'a new car'
이 시간 *i sikan* 'this time/hour'
어느 것 *ani gad* 'Which one?'
(b) 어느 새 옷 *ani se od* 'Which new clothes?'
한 헌 모자 *han ha:n moja* 'an old cap'

3.3.4. Adverb

Every word which may occur (a) before a verb or another adverb as a modifier, (b) before a particle, and (c) before a terminal juncture as a sentence, is an adverb class word, e.g.

- (a) 잘 간다 *jal ganda* '[He] is going well.'
참 좋다 *cam jota* '[It] is very good.'
아주 잘 한다 *aju jal handa* '[He] is doing very well.'
(b) 너무도 비싸다 *namudo bišada* '[It] is far too expensive.'
멀리는 안간다 *mallinin anganda* '[He] is not going far.'
(c) 빨리 *ḡalli* 'Quickly.'
살살 *salsal* 'Gently.'

3.3.5. Particle

Every word which occurs (a) after a noun, (b) after an adverb, (c) after a verb, (d) after a clause or a sentence, is a particle class word. A particle never occurs on its own but always with one of the words mentioned above. Particles form a small closed class, e.g.

- (a) 산이 높다 *sani nobia* 'The mountain is high.'
i — subject marker
토끼를 잡았다 *tokilil jabadia* '[I] caught a rabbit.'
lil — object marker
(b) 얼른도 한다 *allindo handa* '[She] is doing [it] so quickly.'
do — emphasis
(c) 검지는 않다 *gamjinin anta* '[It] is not black [although it may be big].'
nin contrast
(d) 알다시피 늦었네 *aldasipi ni:adne* 'As you know, I am late.'
sipi conj.pcl.
(e) 가세 그려 *gase gi:ja* 'Let's go.'
gi:ja sentence pcl.

3.3.6. Interjection

Every word which may occur (a) by itself preceded and followed by a terminal juncture and (b) syntactically independent of other elements in a sentence, is an interjection word class, e.g.

- (a) 오 *o* 'Oh!'
올지 *olci* 'Splendid!'

- (b) 아이구 저기 온다 *aigu, jagi onda* 'Oh dear, there [he] comes!'
 언제 가세요 참 *anje gasejo cam* 'When are you going, by the way?'

3.4. SUB-CLASSES OF WORD CLASSES

The word classes set up in 3.3 are further divided into sub-classes by further syntactic and morphological criteria.

3.4.1. Sub-classes of Verbs

Three different sub-classifications are required of verb-class words since the sub-classes yielded by one type of classification are more relevant and conducive to a simpler statement of certain grammatical relations than those yielded by another type of classification. Sub-classes yielded by each of the three different classifications are the results of cross-classifications and not further sub-classifications.

3.4.1.1. Processive and Descriptive Verbs

Verbs are either processive or descriptive depending on the following morphological characteristics: the processive verbs may be inflected for the imperative and propositive moods (cf. 7.3.2.3-4) and suffixed by *-n/-nin-* present tense sfx. (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.1.2), whereas the descriptive verbs are inflected for neither mood and cannot be suffixed by the present tense suffix.

Processive Verb

보 <i>bo-</i> 'to see'	주 <i>ju-</i> 'to give'
던지 <i>danji-</i> 'to throw'	놀 <i>nol-</i> 'to play'
쉬 <i>swi-</i> 'to rest'	앉 <i>an-</i> (< <i>anj-</i>) 'to sit'
	etc.

Examples

- 하늘을 본다 *hanilil bonda* '[He] is looking at the sky.' < *bo-* 'to see'
 + *-n-* pres.t.sfx. + *-da* inflex.end.
 아이가 앉는다 *aiga anninda* 'The child is sitting down.' < *anj-* 'to sit'
 + *-nin-* pres.t.sfx. + *-da*.

Descriptive Verbs

젊 <i>jalm-</i> 'to be young'	밝 <i>balg-</i> 'to be bright'
크 <i>ki-</i> 'to be big'	좋 <i>jo-</i> (< <i>joh-</i>) 'to be good'
길 <i>gil-</i> 'to be long'	차 <i>ca-</i> 'to be cold'

etc.

Examples

그는 젊다 *ginin jalm-a* '[She] is young.' < *jalm-* 'to be young' + *-da*
 날이 차다 *nali cada* 'It is cold' (lit. 'The weather is cold'). < *ca-* 'to be cold' + *da*.

3.4.1.1.1. Copula Verb

The copula verb is a descriptive verb which is always found preceded by a noun or a nominal phrase (cf. 5.1). There is only one copula verb: *이* *i-* 'to be', e.g.

돌이다 *dol ida* '[This] is a stone.'

3.4.1.1.2. There are a few verbs which behave as both processive and descriptive verbs:

밝 <i>balg-</i>	(a) as V.p. 'to dawn, become bright'
	(b) as V.d. 'to be bright'
늦 <i>nij-</i>	(a) as V.p. 'to become late'
	(b) as V.d. 'to be late'
크 <i>ki-</i>	(a) as V.p. 'to grow'
	(b) as V.d. 'to be big'
있 <i>is-</i>	(a) as V.p. 'to stay'
	(b) as V.d. 'to be, to exist'
계시 <i>gesi-</i>	(a) as V.p. 'to stay'
	(b) as V.d. 'to be, to exist'
	(<i>gesi-</i> is the the honorific counterpart of <i>is-</i>)

These verbs, as shown above, express two different, though related, meanings according to whether they are used as processive or descriptive verbs, e.g.

날이 밝다 *nali bag-a* 'The day is bright.' < *balg-* V.d. + *-da*
 날이 밝는다 *nali bagninda* 'The day is dawning.' < *balg-* V.p.
 + *-nin-* pres.t.sfx. + *-da*

3.4.1.2. Transitive and Intransitive Verbs

As an alternative classification,¹ verbs are divided into transitive and intransitive verbs depending on whether or not they have the potential of taking an object (cf. 6.2.3). All transitive verbs may take an object but no intransitive verb can take one. The transitive/intransitive distinction of verbs is paralleled to a large extent by the distinction of passivity/non-passivity between them: transitive verbs lend themselves to passive voice formation but it is not possible with intransitive verbs.

¹ Cf. 3.4.1.4 for correlations between alternative sub-classifications of verbs.

Transitive Verbs

먹 *mag-* 'to eat', 밀 *mil-* 'to push'
 누르 *nuli-* 'to press', 부르 *buli-* 'to call'
 닫 *dad-* 'to shut', 팔 *pal-* 'to sell'
 etc.

Examples

떡을 먹니 *iAgil magni* 'Are you eating cake?'
 < *mag-* 'to eat' + *-ni* infx.end.
 떡이 먹히니 *iAgil makini* 'Is cake being eaten?'
 < *mag-* 'to eat' + *-hi-* passive voice sfx. + *-ni*

Intransitive Verbs

앉 *anj-* 'to sit', 서 *sa-* 'to stand'
 쉬 *swi-* 'to rest', 높 *nop-* 'to be high'
 하얗 *hajah-* 'to be white'
 etc.

Examples

의자에 앉는다 *ijjae anninda* '[He] is sitting on a chair.'
 < *anj-* 'to sit' + *-nin-* pres. t.sfx. + *-da*
 언덕이 높다 *andagi nobla* 'The hill is high.' < *nop-* 'to be high' + *-da*

3.4.1.3. Full Verbs and Auxiliary Verbs

As a second alternative classification, verbs are subdivided into 'Full' and 'Auxiliary' verbs, depending on whether or not they can occur alone as a sentence (cf. 7.2). A full verb can occur by itself as a sentence but an auxiliary verb can not so occur unless it is preceded by a full verb or some other element. Both full and auxiliary verbs may be further subdivided into 'Honorific' and 'Plain' verbs. Honorific verbs are those which express, in addition to the lexical meanings, the speaker's respect to the subject (cf. 6.2.2). Verbs other than the honorific verbs are plain verbs.

3.4.1.3.1. Full Verbs

3.4.1.3.1.1. Honorific Full Verbs

There are only a few honorific full verbs and they are all paired by the corresponding plain verbs.

Honorific Verbs	Plain Verbs
잡수시 <i>jabsusi-</i> 'to eat'	먹 <i>mag-</i>
주무시 <i>jumusi-</i> 'to sleep'	자 <i>ja-</i>
계시 <i>gesi-</i> 'to be, to exist'	있 <i>is-</i>

Examples

아버지가 잡수신다 *abajiga jabsusinda* 'My father is dining.'
 동생이 먹는다 *dongsegi magninda* 'My brother is eating.'
 어른이 계시니 *aelini gesini* 'Is there an adult?'
 아이가 있니 *aiga inni* 'Is there a child?'

3.4.1.3.1.2. Plain Full Verbs

All plain verbs can be suffixed by the honorific suffix *-si-/isi-* (cf. 4.3.2) to express the same kind of respect to the subject of a sentence as is shown by honorific verbs, but an honorific-suffixed plain verb is usually avoided if a corresponding honorific verb is available. Examples of plain full verbs are:

읽 *ilg-* 'to read' 열 *jal-* 'to open'
 적 *ja:g-* 'to be small' 얕 *jat-* 'to be shallow'
 쏘 *so-* 'to shoot' 버리 *bali-* 'to throw'
 etc.

Examples

소년이 책을 읽는다 *sonjani cegil igninda* 'A boy is reading a book.'
 < *ilg-* 'to read' V.pl. + *-nin-* pres.t.sfx. + *-da* infx.end.
 선생이 책을 읽으신다 *sansegi cegil ilgisinda*
 'A teacher is reading a book.'
 < *ilg-* 'to read' + *-isi-* hon.sfx. + *-n-* pres.t.sfx. + *-da*

3.4.1.3.2. Auxiliary Verbs

There are four types of auxiliary verbs: (i) 'Auxiliary Verbs', (ii) 'Post-nominal Auxiliary Verbs', (iii) 'Post-adjectival Auxiliary Verbs' and (iv) 'Sentence Auxiliary Verbs'. 'Auxiliary verbs' are those that occur after a verb inflected in a concatenating form (cf. 4.3.5.3). 'Post-nominal auxiliary verbs' occur only after a nominal phrase (cf. 5.1), 'Post-adjectival auxiliary verbs' only after an adjectival clause (cf. 6.4.3), and 'Sentence auxiliary verbs' only after a final clause (cf. 6.1 and 6.3).

3.4.1.3.2.1. Auxiliary Verbs

The following is a list of the twenty one most common auxiliary verbs given under three different headings: those listed under (i) are processive, those under (ii) descriptive, and those under (iii) both processive and descriptive verbs.

(i) Processive Auxiliary Verbs

1. 보 *bo-* 'to try [doing]'
2. 주 *ju-* 'to do something as a favour'

- (ii) *ha-* 'admission or recognition' of the action or event represented by the predicate in the preceding nominal clause. V.d.aux.

This verb is always preceded by a nominal clause formed with the suffix *-gi*, and the modifying particle *nin*, *man* or *do* occurs obligatorily before *ha-*. *ha-* verb behaves as a processive or descriptive auxiliary verb according as to whether the predicate of the preceding nominal clause is processive or descriptive type, e.g.

오기도 한다 *ogido handa* '[He] does come too, [I admit].'

o- V.p.

회기는 하다 *hiiginin hada* '[It] is white, [I admit].'

hii- V.d.

The *ha-* verb in the examples above can be replaced by the same verb as occurs in the nominal clause. Thus the example sentences may be rewritten as

오기도 온다 회기는 회다
ogido onda and *hiiginin hiida*

3.4.1.3.2.3. Post-adjectival Auxiliary Verbs

The common post-adjectival auxiliary verbs, all of which may include the modifying particle (*nin*, *man*, *do* within the stem, are as follows:

- (i) 듯하 *disha-* 'to seem or appear' V.d.aux.

This occurs only after an adjectival clause formed with *-n/-in*, *-l/-il*, or *-nin* if the predicate is processive, e.g.

간듯하다 *gan dishada* '[It] seems that [he] has gone.'

갈듯하다 *gal dishada* '[It] seems that [he] is going to leave.'

가는듯하다 *ganin dishada* '[It] seems that [he] is going.'

- (ii) 만하 *manha-* 'to be worth [doing]' V.d.aux.

This occurs only after an adjectival clause formed with the ending *-l/-il*, e.g.

볼만합니다 *bol manhabnida* '[It] is worth seeing.'

- (iii) 법하 *babha-* 'to be likely to' V.d.aux.

This occurs only after an adjectival clause formed with *-l/-il*, e.g.

비가 올법하다 *biga ol babhada* 'It looks like raining.'

- (iv) 양하 *janha-* 'pretending to' V.p.aux.

- (v) 척하 / 채하 *cagha-/ceha-* 'pretending to' V.p.aux.

- (vi) 먼하 *banha-* 'nearly [did]' V.p.aux.

The verbs *janha-* and *cagha-/ceha-* occur only after an adjectival clause formed with *-nin* and *-n/-in*, and *banha-* only after the one formed *-l/-il*, e.g.

우는양 하지마라 *unin jan(in)haji mala* 'Don't pretend to cry.'

아픈척 했습니다 *apin cag(il)hesibnida* '[I] pretended to be ill.'

다칠뻔 했다 *dacil ban(do)hesda* '[I] was even nearly hurt.'

The modifying particle, *nin/in*, *man*, and *do*, can occur within the stem of the post-adjectival auxiliary verbs given above, and the object particle *lil/il* (cf. 3.4.5.2) can occur within the stem of the three verbs *janha-*, *cagha-/ceha-* and *banha-*.

As an alternative analysis, all post-adjectival clause auxiliary verbs may be treated as phrases consisting of the non-independent nouns such as *jan*, *cag/ce*, *ban* etc., on the one hand, and the verb *ha-* on the other. This alternative analysis will involve the setting up of such words as *jan*, *cag/ce*, *ban*, etc., as a separate sub-class of the noun.

3.4.1.3.2.4. Sentence Auxiliary Verbs

There are two sentence auxiliary verbs:

- (i) 싶 *sip-* presumption, conjecture

- (ii) 보 *bo-* presumption, conjecture

These auxiliary verbs occur only after a final interrogative clause formed with *-ninga* (4.3.5.1.3.2), *-na* (4.3.5.1.3.2) or *-lka/-ilka* (4.3.5.1.3.2), and are very restricted in inflection. The most common inflectional endings with which the sentence auxiliary verbs occur are: *-a/-a* (4.3.5.1.5.1), *-da* (4.3.5.1.4.1), *-bnida* (4.3.5.1.1.1) and *-ji* (cf. 4.3.5.1.5), e.g.

갔나 보아 *gašna boa /gannaboa/* '[He] is gone, I think.'

웃는가 봄니다 *usninga bodbnida /unninga bomnida/*

'I think [they] are laughing.'

연필인가 싶다 *janpilinga sipda /janpilinga sibia/*

'I suppose [it] is a pencil.'

Notice that the sentence auxiliary verbs *sip-* and *bo-* are identical in form to the auxiliary verbs *sip-* and *bo-* (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.1).

3.4.1.4. Correlations between Alternative Sub-classifications of Verbs

Correlations between the sub-classes of verbs yielded by the first two classifications (cf. 3.4.1.1-2) may be set out as follows:

- (i) Processive V \longleftrightarrow { Transitive V
Intransitive V
Descriptive V \longleftrightarrow Intransitive V

or

- (ii) Transitive V \longleftrightarrow Processive V
 Intransitive V \longleftrightarrow { Processive V
 Descriptive V

All transitive verbs are processive, but intransitive verbs are either processive or descriptive, or conversely, processive verbs are either transitive or intransitive, but descriptive verbs are all intransitive.

3.4.2. Sub-classes of Nouns

Noun class words are first sub-divided into 'Independent' and 'Non-Independent' Nouns, each being further divided into smaller sub-classes. As an alternative classification, nouns are divided into 'Animate' and 'Inanimate' nouns, and as a second alternative classification, they are divided into 'Honorific' and 'Plain' nouns.

3.4.2.1. Independent Nouns

Every noun which may occur alone as a sentence is an independent noun. The majority of Korean nouns belong to this sub-class, e.g.

사람 *sa:lam* 'man, person', 아이 *ai* 'child'
 개 *ge* 'dog', 집 *jib* 'house'
 하늘 *hanil* 'sky', 물 *mul* 'water'
 기차 *gica* 'train', 사랑 *salaj* 'love'
 생각 *seggag* 'thought, idea'

etc.

Among the independent nouns are distinguished the following further sub-classes: (i) Numerals, (ii) Pronouns, (iii) Interrogative nouns, and (iv) Adverbial nouns.

3.4.2.1.1. Numerals

Numerals are those independent nouns which (i) typically occur as an affirmative answer to a question such as *몇입니까* *mjA.cimnika* 'How many [are they]?' and (ii) may be immediately followed by a classifier (cf. 3.4.2.2.1).

There are two sets of numerals in Korean: 'Korean Numerals' and 'Sino-Korean Numerals'. For numbers from one hundred onward, only Sino-Korean numerals are now in use.

3.4.2.1.1.1. Korean Cardinal Numerals

하나 *hana* 'one' 열 *jA:l* 'ten'
 둘 *dul* 'two' 스물 *simul* 'twenty'

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셋 <i>ses</i> 'three'	설흔 / 서른 <i>sal(h)in</i> 'thirty'
넷 <i>nes</i> 'four'	마흔 <i>mahin</i> 'forty'
다섯 <i>dasas</i> 'five'	쉰흔 / 원 <i>swihin/swin</i> 'fifty'
여섯 <i>jasas</i> 'six'	예순 <i>jesun</i> 'sixty'
일곱 <i>ilgob</i> 'seven'	일흔 <i>ilhin</i> 'seventy'
여덟 <i>jAdAlb</i> 'eight'	여든 <i>jAdin</i> 'eighty'
/jAdAl/	
아홉 <i>ahob</i> 'nine'	아흔 <i>ahin</i> 'ninety'

The numerals from eleven onward up to ninety nine are in the form of compound numerals, e.g.

열 하나 *jA:l hana* 'eleven' < *jA:l* 'ten' + *hana* 'one'
 열 둘 *jA:l dul* 'twelve' < *jA:l* 'ten' + *dul* 'two'
 스물 다섯 *simul dasas* 'twenty five'
 < *simil* 'twenty' + *dasas* 'five'
 여든 여덟 *jAdin jAdAlb* 'eighty eight'
 < *jAdin* 'eighty' + *jAdAlb* 'eight'
 아흔 아홉 *ahin ahob* 'ninety nine'
 < *ahin* 'ninety' + *ahob* 'nine'

3.4.2.1.1.2. Sino-Korean Cardinal Numerals

일 <i>il</i> 'one'	팔 <i>pal</i> 'eight'
이 <i>i</i> 'two'	구 <i>gu</i> 'nine'
삼 <i>sam</i> 'three'	십 <i>sib</i> 'ten'
사 <i>sa</i> 'four'	백 <i>beg</i> 'hundred'
오 <i>o</i> 'five'	천 <i>can</i> 'thousand'
육 <i>jug</i> 'six'	만 <i>man</i> 'ten thousand'
칠 <i>cil</i> 'seven'	억 <i>ag</i> 'one hundred million'

Sino-Korean numerals other than those given above are in the form of compound numerals, e.g.

이십 *i sib* 'twenty' < *i* 'two' + *sib* 'ten'
 삼십 *sam sib* 'thirty' < *sam* 'three' + *sib* 'ten'
 사십 *sa sib* 'fourty' < *sa* 'four' + *sib* 'ten'
 십오 *sib o* 'fifteen' < *sib* 'ten' + *o* 'five'
 이십오 *i sib o* 'twenty five' < *i sib* 'twenty' + *o* 'five'
 오백 *o beg* 'five hundred' < *o* 'five' + *beg* 'hundred'
 육백칠십사 *jug beg cil sib sa* 'six hundred and seventy four' < *jug* 'six' + *beg* 'hundred' + *cil* 'seven' + *sib* 'ten' + *sa* 'four'
 일천구백육십팔 *il can gu beg jug sib pal* '1968'

following examples the first English meaning given is associated with the interrogative and the second with non-interrogative sentence.

- (a) 누 / 누구 *nu/nugu* 'who' 'someone'
 (b) 무엇 *muŋ(s)* 'what' 'something'
 (c) 몇 *mjŋc* 'how many' 'a few, several'
 (d) 언제 *ŋje* 'when' 'sometimes'

Examples

- 누가 했니 *nuga henni* 'Who did it?'
 누가 했다 *nuga hedŋ* 'Someone did it.'
 몇개를 샀니 *mjadkŋelil sanni* 'How many did you buy?'
 몇개를 샀지 *mjadkŋelil sadci* 'I bought several.'

3.4.2.1.4. Adverbial Nouns

Nouns which can function as adverbs or as adjuncts (cf. 6.2.6) in the clause structure are adverbial nouns. They are mostly nouns of time and place.

- 오늘 *onil* 'today' 내일 *neil* 'tomorrow'
 어제 *ŋje* 'yesterday' 그저께 *gijŋke* 'the day before yesterday'
 지금 *jigim* 'now' 처음 *caim* '[at] first, for the first time'
 여기 *jŋgi* 'here' 거기 *gŋgi* 'there'
 언제 *ŋje*² etc. 'when, sometime'

etc.

Examples

- 오늘이 지났다 *onili jinadŋ* 'Today has passed.' *onil* as subject (N).
 내가 오늘 간다 *nega onil ganda* 'I am going today.' *onil* as adjunct.

3.4.2.2. Non-Independent Nouns

Nouns which are always preceded by an independent noun, an adjective or an adjectival phrase or clause are non-independent nouns. Non-independent nouns are further divided into (i) 'Classifiers' and (ii) 'Post-Modifiers'.

3.4.2.2.1. Classifier

Non-independent nouns which typically follow a numeral or a numeral adjective (cf. 3.4.3.1) are classifiers. Every classifier has reference, both syntactically and semantically, to a noun or a group of nouns, and when an independent noun and a classifier co-occur, as in a nominal phrase specifying the quantity of the referent (thing) indicated by a noun, they must agree. For

¹ *nu* occurs before the particle *ga* and *nugu* elsewhere.

² The noun *ŋje* is a member of two different noun sub-classes: interrogative and adverbial noun.

instance, *mali* '[head(s) of] animal' refers to animal and is therefore used only with nouns that represent animals.

- 마리 *mali* '[head(s) of] animal'
 장 *jaŋ* '[sheet(s) of] paper'
 권 *gwan* '[volume(s) of] book(s)'
 그루 *gilu* '[number of] trees'
 대 *de* '[a set of] machines'
 치 *ci* '[inch] length'
 섬 *sŋm* '[sack of] grain'
 명 *mjaŋ* '[number of] person(s)'
 etc.

Examples

- 말 두마리 *mal du mali* 'two horses' (lit. 'horse two heads')
 종이 다섯장 *joŋi dasad jaŋ* 'five sheets of paper' (lit. 'paper five sheets')
 책 두권 *ceg du gwan* 'two volumes of books' (lit. 'book two volumes')
 나무 여섯그루 *namu jasad gilul* 'six trees'
 텔레비 한대 *telebi han de* 'a set of television'

All classifiers can combine with the noun *su* 'number' to form compound nouns as follows:

- 마리수 *malisu* / *malisu* 'number of animals'
 장수 *jaŋsu* / *jaŋsu* 'number of sheets of paper'
 권수 *gwan-su* / *gwan-su* 'number of volumes of books'
 etc.

Examples

- 장수가 많다 *jaŋsuga manta*
 'The number of sheets of paper is large (lit. 'plenty').'

3.4.2.2.2. Post-Modifiers

Non-independent nouns which never occur unless they are preceded by an independent noun, an adjective, an adjectival phrase or clause or a nominal clause are post-modifiers.

- 것 *gas* 'thing' 이 *i* 'person'
 곳 *gos* 'place' 줄 *jul* 'ability', 'guess'
 때문 *ŋemun* 'reason' 대로 *deŋlo* 'as, like'
 만큼 / 만치 *mankim/manci* 'as (much) as'
 etc.

Examples

- 우리의 것 *ulie gad* 'ours, our thing'
 먹는 것 *maŋnin gad* 'that which eats, thing to eat, that fact that one eats'

그이 *gi i* 'that person, he, she'
 오는 이 *onin i* 'the one who is coming'
 이 곳 *i god* 'this place, here'
 즐거운 곳 *jilgaun god* 'a pleasant place'
 소리 때문입니다 *sol i temunimnida* 'It is because of the sound.'
 돈이 없기 때문이었습니다 *do:ni ʌ:bki temuniʌsimnida*
 'This was because we had no money.'
 너는 너대로 해라 *nanin na delo hela* 'You do as you please.'
 내가 본대로이다 *nega bon delo ida* 'This is as I saw it.'
 이만큼 주십시오 *imankim jusibšio* 'Give this much.'
 먹을만치 먹어라 *magil manci magala* 'Eat as much as you can.'

The post-modifier *jul* with the meaning 'capacity, ability' is preceded by an adjectival clause formed with the inflectional ending *-l/-il* 'future/presumptive' (cf. 4.3.5.2.2), e.g.

볼 줄 안다 *bolčul (< jul) anda* 'I know how to see [it].'

On the other hand, when *jul* is used with the meaning 'guess, (the fact) that ...', it may be preceded by an adjectival clause formed with any of the three adjectival clause endings (cf. 4.3.5.2.2), e.g.

가는 줄 알았다 *ganinjul aladʌ* 'I thought that he was going.'
 간 줄 알았다 *ganjul aladʌ* 'I thought that he had gone.'
 갈 줄 알았다 *galčul aladʌ* 'I thought that he would go.'

3.4.2.3. Alternative Classifications of Nouns

In addition to the sub-classification of nouns into the independent and non-independent nouns (cf. 3.4.2.1-2), two alternative classifications are necessitated by syntactic relations. They are:

- (i) Animate and Inanimate Nouns
- (ii) Honorific and Plain Nouns

3.4.2.3.1. Animate and Inanimate Nouns

Animate nouns are those which colligate with *ege* 'to, toward', one of the two allomorphs of a particle showing 'direction', and inanimate nouns are those which colligate with *e*, the other allomorph. The syntactical distinction of animate and inanimate nouns corresponds closely to that between animate and inanimate objects referred to by nouns.

Animate Nouns

너 <i>na</i> 'you'	인간 <i>ingan</i> 'human beings'
학생 <i>hagseŋ</i> 'pupil'	아이 <i>ai</i> 'child'

개 <i>ge</i> 'dog'	소 <i>so</i> 'cow'
	etc.

Inanimate Nouns

산 <i>san</i> 'mountain'	학교 <i>haggjo</i> 'school'
자동차 <i>jadonca</i> 'motor car'	방 <i>ban</i> 'room'
집 <i>jib</i> 'house'	정부 <i>janbu</i> 'government'
아홉 <i>ahob</i> 'nine'	것 <i>gas</i> 'thing'

Examples

아이에게 *ai ege* 'to a child' < *ai* 'child'
 개에게 *ge ege* 'to a dog'
 but
 산에 *san e* 'to a mountain'
 학교에 *haggjo e* 'to a school'

3.4.2.3.2. Honorific and Plain Nouns

Honorific nouns are those which, when occurring as subject or object of a sentence, tend to be in lexical concord with an honorific verb occurring in the predicate. Honorific nouns express, in addition to lexical meanings, 'respect' to the person referred to, or associated with an object referred to, by such nouns. Plain nouns are negatively defined as those which are not honorific nouns.

Honorific Nouns

말씀 <i>malšim</i> 'word, speech'	진지 <i>jinji</i> 'food, meal'
성함 <i>sagham</i> 'name'	하느님 <i>hananim</i> 'god'
아버님 <i>abanim</i> 'father'	
어머님 <i>amanim</i> 'mother'	
할아버님 <i>halabanim</i> 'grandfather'	
선생님 <i>sanseŋnim</i> 'teacher'	

etc.

Plain Nouns

땅 <i>taŋ</i> 'earth'	물 <i>mul</i> 'water'
옷 <i>os</i> 'clothes'	벌 <i>ba:l</i> 'bee'
말 <i>mal</i> 'horse'	아이 <i>ai</i> 'child'
사랑 <i>salan</i> 'love'	연구 <i>ja:ngu</i> 'research'

etc.

All honorific nouns are paired by the corresponding plain nouns:

Honorific Nouns	:	Plain Nouns
말씀 <i>malšim</i>	:	말 <i>mal</i> 'word, speech'
진지 <i>jinji</i>	:	밥 <i>bab</i> 'food, meal'

성함 <i>saŋham</i>	:	이름 <i>ilim</i> 'name'
육체 <i>ogce</i>	:	몸 <i>mom</i> 'body'
아버님 <i>abanim</i>	:	아버지 <i>abaji</i> 'father'
할머님 <i>halmanim</i>	:	할머니 <i>halmāni</i> 'grandmother'
		etc.

The lexical concord operating between the honorific nouns and the honorific verbs (cf. 3.4.1.3.1.1) is not as binding as some grammatical concords like 'Number' or 'Person' are in many European languages. But as a rule, an honorific noun occurring as subject or object tends to be used with an honorific verb or, if such a verb is not available, a plain verb with the honorific suffix *-si/-issi-* (cf. 4.3.2).

Examples

아버님이 주무신다 *abanimi jumusinda* '[My] father is sleeping.'
N.hon. V.hon.

선생님이 진지를 잡수신다 *sanseŋnimi jinjilil jabšusinda*
N.hon. N.hon. V.hon.

'The teacher is having his meal.'

할아버님이 장에 가신다 *halabanimi jage gasinda*
N.hon.

'[My] grandfather is going to the market.'

gasinda < *ga-* 'to go' V.pl. + *-si-* hon.sfx. + *-nda*

Nouns standing in concord with honorific verbs (including plain verbs with the honorific suffix) are usually honorific animate, especially human, nouns, but sometimes a plain inanimate noun also occurs with an honorific verb as in the following example.

비가 오신다 *biga osinda* 'Rain is falling (lit. 'coming').'
osinda < *o-* 'to come' V.pl. + *-si-* hon.sfx. + *-nda*

Plain nouns, which are numerous as compared to honorific nouns, occur in principle in concord with plain verbs unless it is felt necessary, for reasons largely extra-linguistic, for the speaker to show respect to a person or an object referred to by the noun which he uses in his sentence, in which case the verb in the sentence may be honorific.

Examples

군인이 방에 있어요 *gunini baje isajō* 'A soldier is in the room.'
gunin 'soldier' N.pl., *is-* 'to be' V.pl.

(Context: a daughter to her mother coming home, the soldier being out of earshot.)

군인이 방에 계시요 *gunini baje gesi.ajō* 'A soldier is in the room.'
gesi- 'to be' V.hon.

(Context: a daughter to her mother coming home, the soldier being within sight or earshot.)

3.4.3. Sub-classes of Adjectives

There are four sub-classes in the adjective class: (i) 'Numeral Adjectives', (ii) 'Deictic Adjectives' (iii) 'Interrogative Adjectives', and (iv) 'Qualitative Adjectives'.

3.4.3.1. Numeral Adjectives

Numeral adjectives are those which are derived from the Korean numerals (cf. 3.4.2.1.1-4) and occur before a classifier (cf. 3.4.2.2.1) or an independent noun. The numeral adjectives form a small sub-class, of which the most common members are as follows:

한 <i>han</i> 'one'
두 <i>du</i> 'two'
세 / 서 / 석 <i>se/sa/sag</i> 'three'
네 / 너 / 닉 <i>ne/na/nag</i> 'four'
닷 <i>das</i> 'five'
엣 <i>jas</i> 'six'
첫 <i>cas</i> 'first'

The selection of one or the other of the three alternant forms of each of the two sets *se/sa/sag* and *ne/na/nag* is collocational: *sa* and *na* collocate with nouns such as *mal* 'unit of measure' or *dwe* 'unit of measure', e.g., *sa mal*, *sa dwe*, *na mal*, *na dwe*. *sag* and *nag* collocate with nouns such as *jan* 'cup, glass' or *sam* 'sack', e.g., *sag jan*, *sag sam*, *nag jan*, *nag sam*, and *se* and *ne* collocate with all other nouns, e.g., *se ceg* 'three books' *ne gaji* 'four kinds', etc. *das* and *jas* occur only with such nouns as *mal* and *dwe*, e.g., *das mal*, *jas dwe*, and with all other nouns the numeral noun *dasas* 'five' and *jasas* 'six' are used.

Of these numeral adjectives, *han* 'one', *du* 'two', *se* 'three' and *ne* 'four' are positionally freer than the rest and can occur before another adjective or an adjectival clause (cf. 6.4.3) as well as before an [independent] noun whereas other numeral adjectives are positionally limited to the pre-nominal position.

Examples

한 학생 *han hagšex* 'one pupil'
N

한 두 학생 *han du hagšex* 'one or two pupil(s)'
N

한 젊은 학생 *han jalmin hagŕen* 'one young (lit. 'who is young') pupil'
adj.cl. N

두 새 집 *du seŕjib* 'two new houses'
N

세 늙은이 *se nilgin i* 'three old (lit. 'who are old') people'
adj.cl. N

이 네 어린 소년 *i ne alin sonjan* 'these four young boys'
adj.cl. N

The numeral adjectives form 'Compound Numeral Adjectives' with a numeral or compound numeral (cf. 3.4.2.1.1.1), e.g.

열 한 *ja:l han* 'eleven' < *ja:l* 'ten' N.num. + *han* 'one' Adj.num.

스물 두 *simul du* 'twenty two' < *simul* 'twenty' N.num. + *du* 'two' Adj.num.

예순 네 *jesun ne* 'sixty four' < *jesun* 'sixty' N.num. + *ne* 'four' Adj.num.

3.4.3.2. Deictic Adjectives

There are three deictic adjectives, each representing a different degree of 'Proximate/Remote' category from the others in relation to the speaker(s) and listener(s). Deictic adjectives can occur not only before a noun but also before a numeral adjective, a qualitative adjective (cf. 3.4.3.4) or an adjectival phrase (cf. 5.3.2) or clause (cf. 6.4.3).

- (i) 이 *i* 'this' (proximate to the speaker(s))
- (ii) 그 *gi* 'that' (proximate to the listener(s) or absent from the scene of discourse)
- (iii) 저 *ja* 'that' (remote from both the speaker(s) and the listener(s))

The first two deictics, *i* and *gi* can also occur as pronouns (cf. 3.4.2.1.2), and *gi* as a pronoun has the meaning 'he, she', e.g.

이 집 *i jib* 'this house'
N

저 새 실 *ja se sil* 'that new thread' *se* Adj.
N

그 한 사람 *gi han sa:lam* 'that one person' *han* Adj.num.
N

저 즐거운 노래 *ja jilgaun nolŕ* 'that pleasant song'
adj.cl. N

3.4.3.3. Interrogative Adjectives

Adjectives which occur in the interrogative sentence with one meaning and in the non-interrogative with another are interrogative adjectives. These are such adjectives as are listed below, where the first English meanings refer to those which they have in the interrogative sentence, and the second to those which they have in the non-interrogative sentence.

- (i) 어느/어떤 *ani/alŕn* 'which'; 'some, certain'
- (ii) 무슨 *musin* 'what'; 'some, certain'
- (iii) 웬 *wen* 'what kind of'; 'some, certain'
- (iv) 어떤 *alŕn* 'what sort of'; 'some sort of'

Examples

어느 곳에 갔니 *ani gose ganni* 'Where (lit. 'which place') did [he] go?'

어느 곳에 갔다 *ani gose gadŕa*
'[He] went somewhere (lit. 'to some place').'

무슨 일을 했니 *musin ilil henni* 'What (lit. 'what work') did you do?'

무슨 일을 했다 *musin ilil hedŕa* 'You did something.'

3.4.3.4. Qualitative Adjectives

Adjectives which are not members of any of the three sub-classes, numeral, deictic and interrogative adjectives, are qualitative adjectives. Qualitative adjectives are distributionally restricted to the pre-nominal positions only.

새 *se* 'new', 헌 *ha:n* 'old, worn out'
온 *on* 'entire, whole', 외 *we* 'only, lone'
etc.

Examples

새 옷 *se od* 'new clothes'

한 헌 모자 *han ha:n moja* 'an old hat'

온 세상 *on sesaŕ* 'the whole world'

외아들 *we adil* 'the only son'

3.4.4. Sub-classes of Adverbs

According to the distributional restrictions of adverbs in relation to other words in the sentence, the following sub-classes are distinguished: (i) 'Processive Adverbs', (ii) 'Descriptive Adverbs', (iii) 'Processive-Descriptive Adverbs', (iv) 'Interrogative Adverbs', (v) 'Sentence Adverbs' and (vi) 'Conjunctive Adverbs'.

3.4.4.1. Processive Adverbs (Adv.p.)

Adverbs which typically occur before a processive verb are processive adverbs. The processive adverbs correspond in general to what in the traditional grammar are called the adverbs of manner.

잘 <i>jal</i> 'well, nicely'	얼른 <i>allin</i> 'quickly'
천천히 <i>camcanhi</i> 'slowly'	깊이 <i>gipi</i> 'deeply'
술술 <i>solsol</i> 'softly, gently'	빨리 <i>balli</i> 'quickly'
많이 <i>manhi</i> 'in plenty'	

etc.

Examples

잘 가라 *jal gala* 'Farewell!' (lit. 'Go well')
V.p.

얼른 읽어 *allin ilga* 'Read [it] quickly.'
V.p.

바람이 술술 분다 *balami solsol bunda* 'The wind blows gently.'
V.p.

3.4.4.2. Descriptive Adverbs (Adv.d.)

Adverbs which may occur either before (i) a descriptive verb or (ii) a processive adverb are descriptive adverbs. The descriptive adverbs correspond in general to the adverbs of degree in the traditional grammar.

매우 <i>meu</i> 'very'	꽤 <i>pag</i> 'very, considerably'
대단히 <i>dedanhi</i> 'very, greatly'	
참 <i>cam</i> 'extremely, very'	가장 <i>gajaŋ</i> 'most'

etc.

Examples

매우 좋다 *meu jo:ta* '[It] is very good.'
V.d.

매우 잘 된다 *meu jal iwinda* '[He] runs very well.'
Adv.p. V.p.

키가 대단히 크다 *kiga dedanhi kida* '[He] is extremely tall.'
V.d.

대단히 빨리 먹는다 *dedanhi palli maninda* '[She] eats very fast.'
Adv.p. V.p.

누가 가장 잘 하니 *nuga gajaŋ jal hani* 'Who does it best?'
Adv.p. V.p.
(lit. 'Who most well does it?')

3.4.4.3. Processive-Descriptive Adverbs (Adv.pd.)

Adverbs which may behave both as the processive adverbs and the descriptive adverbs are processive-descriptive adverbs. Some processive-descriptive adverbs show slightly different meanings depending on whether they are used as processive or descriptive adverbs.

너무 *namu* 'too much' as Adv.p.
'too. . .' as Adv.d.

굉장히 *gwenŋaŋhi* 'very much' as Adv.p.
'very. . .' as Adv.d.

아주 *aju* 'for good, definitely, completely' as Adv.p.
'very, extremely' as Adv.d.

상당히 *saŋdaŋhi* 'remarkably or fairly much/many' as Adv.p.
'quite, fairly' as Adv.d.

확실히 *hwagšilhi* 'definitely, clearly'

Examples

너무 많다 *namu manta* 'There are too many.'
V.d.

너무 잤다 *namu jadŭa* '[She] slept too much.'
V.p.

너무 깊이 잤다 *namu gipi jadŭa* '[She] slept too soundly.'
Adv.p. V.p.

아주 떠났습니까 *aju tanašimnika* 'Has [he] left for good?'
V.p.

아주 흰니다 *aju himnida* '[It] is completely white.'
V.d.

아주 많이 먹었습니다 *aju ma:nhi magasimnida*
Adv.p. V.p.

'[I] have eaten very much.'

3.4.4.4. Interrogative Adverbs

Adverbs whose meanings vary according as they occur in the interrogative and non-interrogative sentence (cf. 7.2) are interrogative adverbs. There are two such adverbs:

왜 *we* 'why' in the interrogative sentence.

'by the way, as you know/remember' in the non-interrogative sentence.

어떻게 *alake* 'how' in the interrogative sentence.

'somehow' in the non-interrogative sentence.

Examples

왜 안오나 *we anona* 'Why doesn't [he] come?'

너도 왜 보았지 *nado we boadçi* 'You saw [it], by the way.'
 영국에 어떻게 갑니까 *jangguge ilake gamnika*
 'How are you getting to England?'
 나도 어떻게 해보겠습니다 *nado ilake hebogeshimnida*
 'I will do [it] somehow.'

3.4.4.5. Sentence Adverb (Adv.z.)

Adverbs which typically occur either at the beginning of a sentence or after the subject if there is one, and have a reference to a preceding sentence, whether uttered by the same speaker or by someone else, are sentence adverbs. A sentence adverb which occurs in a sentence is usually marked phonologically by a tentative juncture (cf. 2.7).

그러나 *gilana* 'but, however'
 또 *io* 'and, furthermore'
 그러니 *gilani* 'therefore'
 더구나 *daguna* 'furthermore, on top of that'
 하물며 *hamilmja* 'furthermore, in contrast to that, in spite of that'
 아니 *ani* 'by the way, why'

Examples

그러나 장군은 계속 싸웠다 *gilana, janggunin gesog sawadla*
 'But the general kept on fighting.'
 나는 그러나 실망했다 *nanin gilana, silmanghedla*
 S.
 'But I was disappointed.'
 더구나 아이는 목이 말랐다 *daguna, ainin mogi malladla*
 'On top of that, the child was thirsty.'

3.4.4.6. Conjunctive Adverb (Adv.conj.)

Adverbs which may occur (i) as a coordinator between two or more syntactically comparable units, or (ii) at the beginning of a sentence with a reference to a preceding one, are conjunctive adverbs. Like sentence adverbs, a conjunctive adverb standing at the beginning of a sentence is often marked phonologically by a tentative juncture. The most common conjunctive adverbs are:

그리고 *giligo* 'and' 'afterward'
 또는 *ionin* 'or'
 곧 *god* 'namely, in other words'

Examples

영국 그리고 불란서를 보아라 *janggug giligo bullansalil boala*
 N N
 'See England and France.'
 이곡은 서서히 그리고 우아하게 불러야 한다
igogin sa:sa:hi giligo uahage bullaja handa
 Adv. Adv.
 'This melody should be sung slowly and gracefully.'
 그리고 그는 서울을 떠났다 *giligo, ginin saulil lanadla*
 'And he left Seoul.'
 감자 또는 보리가 필요합니다 *gamja ionin boliga piljohamnida*
 N N
 '[They] need some potatoes or barley.'
 또는 이렇게 할수 있습니다 *ionin, ilake halsu ishimnida*
 'Or you can do it this way.'
 곧 너는 운동이 부족하다 *god, nanin undonji bujokada*
 'In other words, you lack exercise.'

3.4.5. Sub-classes of Particles

Particles are divided into the following nine sub-classes according to their syntactic functions: (i) 'Subject/Complement Particle', (ii) 'Object Particle', (iii) 'Agent Particle', (iv) 'Adverbial Particle', (v) 'Vocative Particle', (vi) 'Conjunctive Particle', (vii) 'Sentence Particle', (viii) 'Adjectival Particle' and (ix) 'Modifying Particle'.

3.4.5.1. Subject/Complement Particle

The subject/complement particle marks a noun or a nominal phrase either as subject or as complement (cf. 6.2) of a clause: 가/이 *ga/i* V/C-form.¹

Examples

나무가 높다 *namuga nobla* 'The tree is high.'
 S
 동생이 배가 아프다 *dongseni bega apida*
 S₁ S₂
 'My younger brother has a stomach ache.'
 (lit. 'My brother stomach is sick.')

¹ Here and elsewhere the notation 'V/C-form' is to be read: 'Of the two alternant forms separated by a slant line, the first form occurs after a vowel-final form and the second form after a consonant-final form. In this case, for instance, *ga* form occurs after a vowel-final noun and *i* form after a consonant-final noun.'

4. 한테서 *hantesA* 'from' (after N.ani. in colloquial style), e.g.
누구한테서 올까 *nugu hantesA olka* 'From whom will it come?'
5. 로 / 으로 *lo/ilo* 'to, toward, as, with, by' V/C-form (after N.ina.), e.g.
정거장으로 떠난다 *jŏnggajagilo* *iananda* '[She] is leaving for the station.'
나무로 만들었다 *namulo mandiladŏa* 'They made it with wood.'
회장으로 뽑자 *hwejanilo pobŏa* 'Let's choose [him] as president.'
기차로 간다 *gicalo ganda* '[I] am going by train.'
6. 에게로 *egelo* 'to, toward' (after N.ani.), e.g.
파리가 말에게로 날라간다 *paliga malegelo nalla ganda*
'A fly is flying to a horse.'
7. 한테로 *hantelo* 'to, toward' (after N.ani. in colloquial style), e.g.
엄마한테로 가라 *amma hantelo gala* 'Go to your mummy.'
8. 로서 / 으로서 *losA/ilosA* 'as' (after N.ini.) V/C-form.
로써 / 으으로써 *lošA/iłosA* 'with, by' (after N.ina.) V/C-form. } e.g.
장관으로서 말했다 *jangwanilosA malhedŏa* '(He) spoke as a minister.'
병으로써 사망했어요 *bjA:ŋilosA samanghesŏajo* '(She) died of illness.'
9. 와/과 *wa/gwa* 'with' V/C-form, e.g.
아이와 논다 *aiwa nonda* '[She] is playing with a child.'
10. 하고 *hago* 'with' (in colloquial style), e.g.
순경하고 이야기할까 *sungjŏhago ijagihalka*
'Shall we have a word with the policeman.'
11. 처럼 *calam* 'as, like', e.g.
저이처럼 해보아 *jai calam heboa* 'Try and do as he does.'
12. 보다 *boda* 'than', e.g.
이보다 적다 *iboda jagŏa* '[That] is smaller than this.'
낮보다 환하다 *najboda hwanhada* 'It is brighter than daylight.'

Besides there are what may be called compound directive particles such as:

때문에 *iemune* 'because (of)' < *iemun* + *e*
앞에 *ape* 'in front of' < *ap* + *e*
뒤에 *dwie* 'behind', 'after' < *dwi* + *e*

which are composed of nouns followed by a directive particle like 에 *e*.

3.4.5.4.2. Quotative Particles

The quotative particle may occur after any stretch of speech as well as a word

of any class, phrase, clause, or sentence and marks it as a quotation. The quotative particle appears in the following three shapes.

- (a) 라고 *lago* (after any quotation ending in a vowel except a clause or sentence ending in /a/), e.g.
이것을 나무라고 한다 *igasil namulago handa*
'[We] call it "wood".'
- (b) 이라고 *ilago* (after any quotation ending in a consonant), e.g.
나는 창순이라고 합니다 *nanin cagsunilago hamnida*
'My name is "Changsun" ([People] call me Changsun).'
- (c) 고 *go* (after a clause or sentence ending in /a/), e.g.
학교에 가겠다고 약속했다 *hagkjoe gagedŏago jagsokedŏa*
'[He] promised that he would go to school.'

3.4.5.5. Vocative Particle

A noun or a nominal phrase followed by a vocative particle is syntactically independent of other sentence elements in a sentence, where it may occur (i) initially, (ii) immediately after a sentence adverb (cf. 3.4.4.5), if any, or (iii) finally. The construction N/NP + Vocative Particle, which will be named 'Vocative Phrase', is often accompanied by a tentative juncture, or a terminal juncture in which case it can stand by itself as a minor sentence. Just like the verb inflectional endings (cf. 4.3.5), vocative particles distinguish speech styles, and a vocative particle occurring in a sentence agrees in speech style with the verb inflectional ending.

야 / 아 *ja/a* V/C-form (low plain style)
ㅇ / 이 *Zero/i* V/C-form (high plain or medium style)
여 / 이여 *ja/ija* V/C-form (formal style)

Examples

남주야 *namjuja* 'Namju!' (= a girl's name)
밝은 달아 *balgin dala* 'Bright moon!'
동수 *dongsu* Zero 'Dongsu!' (= a man's name)
원복이 *wanbogi* 'Wonbog!' (= a man's name)
친구여 *cingujŏ* 'Dear friend!'
그리운 님이여 *giliun nimija* 'My dear!' (lit. 'Darling I miss.')
복동아 *pallŏwa bogdŏga* 'Bogdong, come quickly!'
아니 복동아 왜안가니 *ani bogdŏga wean gani*
'By the way, Bogdong, why don't you go?'
ani 'by the way' Adv.z.
아니 왜안가니 복동아 *ani weangani bogdŏga*
'By the way, why don't you go, Bogdong?'

그만 두지요 *giman duji jo* 'Why don't you stop it?'

Z (medium)

Z (low formal)

날이 어둡군요 *nali adubkun jo* 'It is dark.'

Z (medium)

Z (low formal)

연필이 없네요 *jɔnpili ʌmne jo* 'There is no pencil.'

Z (high plain)

Z (low formal)

산으로 가세요 *sanilo gade jo*

Z (high plain)

Z (low formal)

'[He] was going to the mountain, [as I remember].'

책요 *ceg jo* 'Book?'

N

빨리요 *palli jo* 'Quickly?'

Adv.

The particle *jo* may occur also within a sentence, after the sentence elements like subject, object, complement, etc., especially in women's speech, e.g.

제가요 내일 가지요 *jega jo, neil gaji jo* 'I will go tomorrow.'

S

P

이 아이는요 치즈를요 싫어해요 *iainin jo, cisilil jo, silhae jo*

S

O

P

'This child does not like cheese.'

3.4.5.8. Adjectival Particle

A noun or a nominal phrase followed by the adjectival particle is syntactically equivalent to an adjective, i.e., occurs in the pre-nominal position. There is only one such particle: 의 *ii* 'of'

Examples

너의 연필 *naii jɔnpil* 'your pencil' (lit. 'pen of you')

na 'you', *jɔnpil* 'pencil'

책의 내용 *cegii nejoŋ* 'the contents of the book'

ceg 'book', *nejoŋ* 'content'

새 노래의 곡조 *se noleiŋ gogčo* 'the melody of the new song.'

se 'new', *nole* 'song', *gogjo* 'melody'

3.4.5.9. 'Modifying Particle'

The particles which are not members of any of the sub-classes described in 3.4.5.1-8 are the members of the sub-class 'Modifying Particle'. All modifying particles can occur immediately after a noun or a nominal phrase functioning as subject, object, or complement, and the first three particles *nin/in*, *man* and *do* can also occur after an adverb, an adverbial relational phrase (cf. 5.3.1), a verb inflected with a concatenating ending (cf. 4.3.5.3) or even within a verb stem (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.2). The modifying particles modify or add certain meaning to the meaning of the preceding element.

1. 는/은 *nin/in* V/C-form, emphasis, contrast, e.g.

나는 간다 *nanin ganda* 'I am going (though you are not).'

S

사과는 먹는다 *sagwanin mɔŋninda* '[She] eats apples (not pears).'

O

그가 마음은 좋다 *giga maimin jo:ta* '[She] is kind (though not bright)'

S₁

S₂

말을 잘은 한다 *ma:lil jalin handa*

Adv.

'[He] speaks well (though not clearly).'

나에게는 주시오 *naege nin jusio* 'Give [it] to me (though not to others).'

naege adverbial relational pcl.

앉고는 싶다 *ankonin sibŭa*

'[I] want to sit down (though I don't want to walk).'

ango /*anko*/ 'sitting' concat. form

2. 만 *man* 'only, solely', e.g.

너만 가니 *naman gani* 'Are you going alone?'

S

책만 보니 *cegman boni* 'Are you reading books only (not newspapers)?'

O

이것이 짐만 된다 *igasi jimman dwenda*

C

'This becomes only a burden (nothing else).'

공을 멀리만 찬다 *gogil malliman canda*

'[He] kicks the ball only far (not accurately).'

malli 'far' Adv.

다방에만 가시오 *dabage man gasio*

adv.ph.

'Do you go only to a tea room (not elsewhere)?'

뛰지만 못하게 하였다 *iwiji man motage hajadŭa*

'[I] just did not allow him to run (though I approved of other things)'

iwiji concat. form

3. 도 *do* 'also, too, as well', e.g.

아이도 우니 *aido uni* 'Is the child crying also?'
S

이제 축구도 한다 *ije cugkudo handa* 'Now [he] even plays football.'
O

타자를 빨리도 친다 *tajalil pallido cinda* 'She types fast too.'
palli 'fast' Adv.

앞으로도 간다 *apilodo ganda* 'It goes forward too.'
apilo 'to front' adv.rel.ph.

쇠가 잘라도 진다 *swega jallado jinda* 'The iron can also be cut.'
jalla 'cutting' concat. form

4. 마다 *mada* 'every, each', e.g.

별마다 나를 보듯 하였다 *bjal:mada nalil bonindid hajadja*
S
'Every star seemed to gaze at me.'

5. 부터 *buta* 'first, from, beginning with', e.g.

사진부터 보아라 *sajinbuta boala* 'Look at the photo first.'
O

6. 까지 *kaji* 'even, as far as', e.g.

불까지 나갔다 *bulkaji nagadja* 'Even the light has gone out.'
S

7. 조차 *joca* 'even, up to', e.g.

할머니는 골치조차 아팠다 *halm:ninin golci:joca apadja*
S₁ S₂
'Granny even had a headache.'

8. 야말로/이야말로 *jamallo/ijamallo* V/C-form 'as for, in particular', e.g.

이 영화야말로 꼭 보아야한다 *ijalhwa:jamallo kog boajahanda*
O
'One must see this film in particular.'

9. 라도 / 이라도 *lado/ilado* V/C-form

'for lack of anything better, even though unsatisfactory', e.g.
차라도 마셔라 *calado masj:la*
O
'Have some tea (for lack of anything better at the moment).'

10. 나 / 이나 *na/ina* V/C-form

'even though unsatisfactory, as [much/many] as', e.g.

자네나 가게 *janena gage* 'You go (though perhaps it is not satisfactory).'
S
열명이나 왔네 *jal:lmja:ina wanne* 'As many as ten people have come.'
S

11. 든지 / 이든지 *dinji/idinji* V/C-form 'any, no matter what', e.g.

어느것이든지 삽시다 *anigasidinji sab sida* 'Let us buy anything.'
O

3.4.6. Sub-classes of Interjections

Two sub-classes are recognized of the interjection word class on the basis of the presence or absence of reference to the preceding sentence. The 'Response Interjections' involve a reference to the preceding sentence and 'Introductory Interjections' do not involve such a reference, but just initiate a new sentence.

3.4.6.1. Response Interjections

네 *ne* 'Yes' (formal style)

그래 *gile* 'Yes' (plain style)

글쎄 *gilse* 'well, presumably, possibly'

어 *a* [*a* or *ä*] 'er' (expression of hesitation)

응 *ij* [*uŋ*] or more commonly [*üŋ*] or [*ü*]

'Yes, that's right'; 'Really, is that so?'

무어 *mwä* [*mwä* or *ma*] 'what!?'

허허 *haha* 'ha ha' (laughter, pleasure or pity)

음 *im* [*um*] or [*m:*] 'mm', 'yes'

흠 *him* [*him*] or [*mm̃*] 'hum', (expression of distaste, sneer)
etc.

3.4.6.2. Introductory Interjections

아 *a* 'Ah!'

아이구 *aigu* 'Oh!, Ouch!, Goodness!'

자 *ja* 'Well, now!'

쉬 *swi* 'Hush!'

야 / 하 *ja/hja* 'Hey!'

여보 *jabo* 'Hey, you!'

여보세요 *jabosejo* 'Hello, you!'
etc.

IV

STRUCTURE OF THE VERB

This chapter deals with the internal structure of verb with a special emphasis on inflection, by virtue of which verbs play a role of central importance in Korean syntax.

4.1. ELEMENTS WITHIN THE VERB

The elements that are found within the verb are (i) 'Verb Stem', (ii) 'Voice Suffix', (iii) 'Honorific Suffix', (iv) 'Tense Suffix (es)', (v) 'Humble Suffix' and (vi) 'Inflectional Ending' occurring in that order. Of these six elements, stem and inflectional ending are the obligatory elements, one never occurring without the other. All other elements found between the stem and the inflectional ending are optional elements. The elements directly relevant to syntactic structures and functions are (a) verb stem, (b) voice suffix and (c) inflectional ending. Verb stems and voice suffixes determine different types of predicate (cf. 6.2.1) and consequently different types of clause (cf. 6.3.1), and inflectional endings determine various syntactic functions of verbs with which they are found or external distributions of a clause in which such verbs occur as predicate. In its minimal form a verb may consist of a stem and inflectional ending, and its maximal form may comprise all six elements, e.g.

- (i) 잡아 *jaba* 'Catch [it].', < *jab-* 'to catch' V.st. + *-a* inflex.end.
- (ii) 잡았어 *jabaſa* '[He] has caught [it].'
< *jab-* + *-aſ-* past t.sfx. + *-a* inflex.end.
- (iii) 잡히었어 *japiſa* '[He] has been caught'
< *jab-* + *-hi-* pasv.vc.sfx. + *-aſ-* past t.sfx. + *-a*.
- (iv) 잡히시었어 *japiſiſa* '[He] has been caught.'
< *jab-* + *-hi-* pasv.vc.sfx. + *-si-* hon.sfx. + *-aſ-* + *-a*
- (v) 잡히시었겠사옵니다 *japiſiſadkeſaomnida*
'[He] may have been captured.' < *jab-* + *-hi-* + *-si-* + *-aſgeſ-* t.sfx. + *-sao-* humble sfx. + *-bnida* inflex.end.

4.2. STEM

The stem of a verb is defined as that element which is found first in the verb structure and followed by any of the five elements, i.e., voice suffix, honorific suffix, tense suffix, humble suffix or inflectional ending.

4.2.1. Structure of the Verb Stem

Verb stems are either simple or compound, and some simple stems may be preceded by a member of the closed set of prefixes.

4.2.1.1. Simple Stems

Simple stems comprise only one verb root and the majority of verb stems are simple. The verb root is that part of the verb stem which is not subject to a further morphemic analysis, i.e., cannot be divided into smaller meaningful units.

가 <i>ga-</i> 'to go'	오 <i>o-</i> 'to come'
놀 <i>nol-</i> 'to play'	자 <i>ja-</i> 'to sleep'
먹 <i>mag-</i> 'to eat'	좋 <i>joh-</i> 'to be good'
	etc.

4.2.1.1.1. Prefixed Simple Stem

The prefixed simple stem consists of a verb root and a member of the closed set of class-maintaining¹ derivational prefixes, of which the following are illustrative.

- (i) 짓 *jis-* 'at random, violently', e.g.
짓밟 *jidbab-* 'to trample down' < *jis-* + *balb-* 'to stamp on'
- (ii) 엿 *jas-* 'secretly', e.g.
엿듣 *jadlid-* 'to overhear' < *jas-* + *did-* 'to hear'
- (iii) 시 *si-* 'deep, very', e.g.
시퍼렇 *sipſal-* 'deep blue' < *si-* + *palſh-* 'blue'
- (iv) 올 *ol-* 'early', e.g.
올되 *oldwe-* 'to be precocious' < *ol-* + *dwe-* 'to become'
- (v) 치 *ci-* 'up, upward', e.g.
치밀 *cimil-* 'to push up, to well up' < *ci-* + *mil-* 'to push'

¹ R. H. Robins, *General Linguistics*, 1964, p. 258.

(vi) 처 *ca-* 'greedily, irrationally', e.g.

처먹 *camag-* 'to eat greedily' < *ca-* + *mag-* 'to eat'
etc.

4.2.1.2. Compound Stems

The compound stems consist of two verb roots.

보살피 *bosalpi-* 'to look after' < *bo-* 'to see' + *salpi-* 'to observe'
오가 *oga-* 'to come and go' < *o-* 'to come' + *ga-* 'to go'
검붉 *gambulg-* 'to be dark red' < *gam-* 'dark' + *bulg-* 'red'
붙잡 *butjab-* 'to grab' < *but-* 'to stick' + *jab-* 'to catch'
etc.

4.2.2. Stem Classes

Verb stems are classified into two major classes on the phonological basis: 'V-Stems' and 'C-Stems'. The V-stems end in a vowel and the C-stems in a consonant. And each of the two major classes is further divided into 'Invariable' and 'Variable' sub-classes depending on whether the morphemic forms of stems are invariable or variable when combining with various verbal suffixes or inflectional endings. The classification of verb stems into V-stems and C-stems makes it possible to make an economic statement about the way in which various suffixes are added to stems.

4.2.2.1. V-Stems

4.2.2.1.1. Invariable V-Stems

The morphological make-up of the invariable V-stems does not vary, irrespective of the suffixes or endings that may follow.

가 <i>ga-</i> 'to go'	쏘 <i>šo-</i> 'to shoot'
세 <i>se-</i> 'to count'	기 <i>gi-</i> 'to crawl'
보 <i>bo-</i> 'to see'	주 <i>ju-</i> 'to give'
새 <i>se-</i> 'to leak' 'to dawn'	

etc.

Examples

어디 가오 *adi gao* 'Where are you going?' < *ga-* + *-o* inflex.end.
집에 간다 *jibe ganda* '[I] am going home.'
< *ga-* + *-n* t.sfx. + *-da* inflex.end.
보았읍니다 *boasimnida* '[I] have seen it.'
< *bo-* + *-aš-* t.sfx. + *ibnida* 'inflex.end.

4.2.2.1.1.1. Diphthongization

In colloquial speech, specially of fast tempo, stem vowels /i/, /o/ and /u/ are frequently reduced to semi-vowels as shown below when they are followed by an /ʌ/- or /a/-initial suffixes or ending.

/i/ + /ʌ/ > /jʌ/
/u/ + /ʌ/ > /wʌ/
/o/ + /a/ > /wa/

Examples

/gi-/ + /-ʌ/ > /gjʌ/ 'to crawl'
/bo-/ + /-a/ > /bwa/ 'to see'
/ju-/ + /-ʌ/ > /jwʌ/ 'to give'

In more careful speech, however, /giʌ/, /boa/ and /juʌ/ tend to occur more frequently than the diphthongized forms.

4.2.2.1.2. Variable V-Stems

The variable V-stems involve various changes in morphemic shape as follows:

4.2.2.1.2.1. i-dropping Stems

All *i*-final stems, except the two *li*-final stems (cf. 4.2.2.1.2.2), appear in the *i*-less allomorphs when followed by an /ʌ/-initial suffix or ending:

잠그 <i>jamgi-</i> 'to lock'	뜨 <i>li-</i> 'to float'
트 <i>ti-</i> 'to tear open'	쓰 <i>ši-</i> 'to use or write'
크 <i>ki-</i> 'to grow, to be big'	

etc.

Examples

쓰 *ši-* 'to use or write'
써도 *šado* 'even if [you] write' > *ši-* + *-ado*
써라 *šala* 'Write!' > *ši-* + *-ala*
cf. 쓰오 *šio* 'Please write!'
쓰고 *šigo* 'writing'

4.2.2.1.2.2. li-final Stems

The following two *li*-final stems appear in the allomorphs comprising an additional /l/ when followed by an /ʌ/-initial suffix or ending:

이르 *ili-* 'to arrive or reach'
푸르 *puli-* 'to be blue'

Examples

이르러 *ililA* 'on arriving' < *ili-* + *-A*
 이르렀다 *ililAšda/ililAdia* 'They arrived [there].'
 < *ili-* + *-Aš-* past t.sfx. + *-da*
 cf. 거기에 이르면 *gAgi ilimjan* 'When [you] reach there.'

4.2.2.1.2.3. u-dropping Stems

The *u*-dropping stems appear in the *u*-less allomorphs when followed by an /*A*/-initial suffix or ending. There is only one verb of this type: 푸 *pu-* 'to draw (water)'.

Examples

피라 *pAa* 'Draw!' < *pi-* + *-Aa*
 피도 *pAdo* 'even if [you] draw [water]'
 cf. 푸고 *pugo* 'drawing' < *pu-* + *-go*

4.2.2.1.2.4. l-doubling Stems

Some *li*-final stems appear in *ll*-final allomorphs when followed by an /*A*/-initial suffix or ending:

나르 *nali-* 'to carry' 부르 *buli-* 'to call'
 짜르 *čali-* 'to cut' 찌르 *čili-* 'to pierce'
 흐르 *hili-* 'to flow' 가르 *gali-* 'to divide'
 빠르 *pali-* 'to be fast' 이르 *ili-* 'to be early'
 etc.

Examples

불러라 *bullAa* 'Call [him].' < *buli-* + *-Aa*
 불러서 *bullASA* 'call [him] and' < *buli-* + *-ASA*
 cf. 부르면 *bulimjan* 'if [you] call [me]' < *buli-* + *-mjan*

If the last vowel in the verb stem is *o* or *a*, the *a* allomorph of the *a/A* form (see 4.3.0.2) is used: 모르 *moli-* 'not to know', 몰라 *molla*.

4.2.2.1.2.5. ha-Stem

The verb stem *ha-* 'to do, to say' and all other verb stems ending in *ha-* have the allomorph *haj-* occurring before *a/A*-initial suffixes or endings, and the form that occurs after the *haj-* or *haj*-final verbs is *A*-form according to the rule of vowel harmony (cf. 4.3). The sequence *ajA* of *hajA* sometimes coalesces into *ε*, thus giving rise to *hε*. However the full form *hajA* is used more often in a slow and formal style of speech as well as in written language, and the coalesced form *ε* in colloquial language.

하 *ha-* 'to do, to say' 연하 *jA:nha-* 'to be soft'
 참하 *camha-* 'to be nice or pretty' 정하 *jAŋha-* 'to decide'
 통하 *toŋha-* 'to pass'
 etc.

Examples

하여/해 *hajA/hε* 'Do and' < *haj-* + *-A* (> *hε*)
 참하였다/참했다 *camhajAšda/camhešda* '[She] was nice.'
 < *camhaj-* + *-Aš-* past t.sfx. + *-da* (> *camhešda*)
 정하여도/정해도 *jAŋhajAdo/jAŋhεdo* 'Even if [I] decide [on it].'
 < *jAŋhaj-* + *-Ado* (> *jAŋhεdo*)

The verb stem *dwe-* 'to become' also has the coalesced form *dwe* for *dweA* in colloquial language, and similar coalescences occur in, for instance, *bone* for *boneA* 'to send'.

4.2.2.2. C-Stems

4.2.2.2.1. Invariable C-Stems

The invariable C-stems do not involve any change in shape in combining with various suffixes or endings:

찢 *čij-* 'to tear' 심 *sim-* 'to sow'
 먹 *mag-* 'to eat' 입 *ib-* 'to wear'
 벗 *bas-* 'to take off, to undress' 적 *jag-* 'to be small'
 섞 *sak-* 'to mix'
 etc.

Examples

이것을 찢을까 *igAsil čijilka* 'Will [he] tear this?'
 씨를 심니 *šilil simni* 'Are you sowing seeds?'
 집이 적군 *jibi jaggun* 'The house is small.'

4.2.2.2.2. Variable C-Stems

The variable C-stems involve various changes in shape as follows:

4.2.2.2.2.1. l-dropping Stems

All *l*-final verb stems appear in the *l*-less allomorphs when they are followed by a suffix or an ending which begins with /*n*/, /*s*/, /*b*/ or /*o*/:

갈 *ga:l-* 'to plough' 날 *nal-* 'to fly'
 알 *a:l-* 'to know' 말 *mal-* 'to roll or stop'
 걸 *ga:l-* 'to hang' 팔 *pal-* 'to sell'
 etc.

Examples

- 아니 *a:ni* 'Do you know?' < *a:l-* + *-ni*
 아시오 *a:sio* 'Do you know?' < *a:l-* + *-si-* hon.sfx. + *-o*
 압니다 *a:bnida* '[I] know.' < *a:l-* + *-bnida*
 아오 *a:o* '[I] know.' < *a:l-* + *-o*
 cf. 알고 *a:lgo* 'understanding' < *a:l-* + *-go*
 알라도 *a:lado* 'though [I] know' < *a:l-* + *-ado*

4.2.2.2.2.2. s-dropping Stems

Some *s*-final verb stems appear in the *s*-less allomorphs when they are followed by a V-initial suffix or ending:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 짓 <i>jis-</i> 'to build' | 잇 <i>i:s-</i> 'to connect' |
| 긋 <i>gis-</i> 'to draw or mark [a line]' | 젓 <i>JA:s-</i> 'to stir' |
| 붓 <i>bus-</i> 'to pour' | |

etc.

Examples

- 지어라 *ji:la* 'Build [it].' < *jis-* + *-la*
 지으려 *ji:ilA* 'in order to build' < *jis-* + *-ilA*
 지어서 *ji:ASA* 'building and' < *jis-* + *-ASA*
 cf. 짓는다 *jisninda* '[He] is building [it].'
 짓자 *jisja* 'Let us build [it].'

If the *s*-less allomorph ends in the vowel *a*, the *a* allomorph of the *a/A* form (see 4.3) is used: 낫 *nas-* 'to be better', 나아 *naa*

4.2.2.2.2.3. d-final Stems

Some *d*-final stems have the *l*-final allomorphs occurring when followed by a V-initial suffix or ending:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 듣 <i>did-</i> 'to hear' | 깨달 <i>kedad-</i> 'to understand or realize' |
| 걸 <i>ga:d-</i> 'to walk' | 실 <i>sid-</i> 'to load' |
| 묻 <i>mud-</i> 'to ask' | |

etc.

Examples

- 물어라 *mul:la* 'Ask!' < *mud-* + *-la*
 물으면 *mulimjan* 'If [he] asks' < *mud-* + *imjan*
 cf. 묻고 *mudgo* 'asking'
 묻자 *mudja* 'Let us ask.'
 묻도록 *muddolog* 'So that [he] asks'

4.2.2.2.4. b-final Stems

Some *b*-final stems have *u*-final allomorphs occurring before a V-initial suffix or ending:

- 눅 *nub-* 'to lie down', 돕 *dob-* 'to help'
 가깝 *gakab-* 'to be near', 굽 *gub-* 'to grill'
 깎 *gib-* 'to mend or darn'

etc.

Examples

- 도우면 *doumjAn* 'If [you] help' < *dob-* + *-imjan*
 도우니까 *dounika* 'Because [you] help [me]' < *dob-* + *-inika*

Notice that when the stem *dob-* is realized as *dou-*, the following ending (initially C-form) is automatically replaced by the V-form since the stem is no longer a C-final stem, i.e., *dob-* + *-imjan* > *dou-* + *-mjAn*.

- cf. 돕고 *dobgo* 'helping' < *dob-* + *-go*
 돕지 *dobji* '[I] will help.' < *dob-* + *-ji*
 돕세 *dobse* 'Let us help.' < *dob-* + *-se*

When forms beginning with *a/A* are added to verb stems with a *u*-final allomorph, *uA* is regularly contracted to *wa:*: 눅 *nub-* 'to lie down', 누워 *nuwa:*; and if the vowel before the *-b/-u-* is *a* or *o* the allomorph *a* of *a/A* is used (and the Korean spelling adapted accordingly):

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| 가깝 <i>gakab-</i> 'to be near' | 가까와 <i>gakawa</i> |
| 돕 <i>dob-</i> 'to help' | 도와 <i>dowa</i> |

4.3. VERB SUFFIXES AND INFLECTIONAL ENDINGS

Following the description of verb stems in 4.2, verb suffixes and inflectional endings are discussed in this section. In connection with the discussion of verb suffixes and inflectional endings in the succeeding sections and subsections, the following general points may be made at the outset, as these are relevant to all suffixes and inflectional endings.

1. V/C-form

There are some suffixes and inflectional endings which have two phonologically conditioned forms or allomorphs, the one occurring after a stem or a stem plus suffixes ending in a vowel, and the other after a stem or a stem plus suffixes ending in a consonant. All such two-form suffixes or inflectional endings will be represented by the notation 'V/C-form', which stands for 'Post-Vocalic Form' and 'Post-Consonantal Form' as in

니 / 으니 *-ni/-ini* V/C-form

where *-ni* is the V-form and *-ini* the C-form, e.g.

보니 *boni* 'As [I] see [it]' < *bo-* + *-ni* V-form

잡으니 *jabini* 'As [I] grab [it]' < *jab-* + *-ini* C-form

It is to be noted that some particles also have two phonologically conditioned forms, V-forms and C-forms, as explained earlier (cf. 3.4.5.1 and footnote there).

2. a/Λ-form

Some suffixes and inflectional endings have two different forms or allomorphs, the selection of which is conditioned not by the V/C-form contrast of the preceding element but by the type of vowel found in the preceding syllable, i.e., by vowel harmony rules. The category of vowel harmony, believed to have been extensive and regularly observed in the fifteenth-century Korean, is now not only very restricted but also rather loose in application in modern Korean. Of the two forms of a two-form suffix or inflectional ending, designated 'a/Λ-form', *a*-form occurs when the preceding vowel is /a/ or /o/, and *Λ*-form when the preceding vowel is /ɐ/, /u/, /i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /i/ or /j/. The only exception to this vowel harmony rule is the past tense suffix *-aš-/Λš-*, which is always followed by *Λ*-form and not *a*-form (cf. 4.3.3), e.g.

아라 / 어라 *-ala/-Λla*, *a/Λ*-form

잡아라 *jabala* 'Catch it.'

먹어라 *mΛgΛla* 'Eat it.'

하어라 *hajΛla* 'Do it.'

았 / 었 *-aš-/Λš-*, *a/Λ*-form

쏘았어도 *soašΛdo* '[He] shot but' < *šo-* + *-aš-* + *-Λdo*

주었어도 *juΛšΛdo* '[He] gave [it] but' < *ju-* + *-Λš-* + *-Λdo*

하였어도 *hajΛšΛdo* '[He] did [it] but' < *haj-* + *-Λš-* + *-Λdo*

In colloquial speech there is a tendency nowadays to use the *Λ*-form rather than *a*-form even after the /a/ vowel. Thus, /jabΛla/ 'Catch it!' is just as common as /jabala/, and /badΛdo/ 'even if you receive it' as /badado/.

In the following discussion of suffixes and inflectional endings, details concerning each element are given as follows: (i) its membership, (ii) any restrictions on its distribution with verb stems, (iii) any restriction with other non-stem elements and (iv) some examples.

4.3.1. Voice Suffix

The voice is a three-term system: 'Active Voice', 'Passive Voice' and 'Causative Voice'. Of these three, the active voice is unmarked, and the passive and causative voice are marked by relevant voice suffixes. The passive and causative voice suffixes are mutually exclusive and only one voice suffix, passive or causative, is found with the verb stem at a time.

4.3.1.1. Passive Voice Suffix

The passive voice suffix is found only with a transitive verb stem and has four phonologically conditioned allomorphs: (i) *-i-*, (ii) *-hi-*, (iii) *-li-* and (iv) *-gi-*.

(i) *-i-* after stems ending in *p*, *t*, *k*, *h*, *V*, e.g.

덮이 *dapi-* 'to be covered' < *dap-* 'to cover' + *-i-*

훈이 *hulti-* 'to be hackled' < *hult-* 'to hackle' + *-i-*

깨이 *kaki-* 'to be broken' < *kak-* 'to break' + *-i-*

쌓이 *sahi-* 'to be piled up' < *sah-* 'to pile up' + *-i-*

보이 *boi-* 'to be seen' < *bo-* 'to see' + *-i-* (/b(w)e-/ or /b[ø]-/ or /bi-/)

(ii) *-hi-* after stems ending in *b*, *d*, *g*, *j*, e.g.

업히 *abhi-* 'to be carried [on the back]'

< *ab-* 'to carry [on the back]' + *-hi-*

닫히 *dadhi-* 'to be closed' < *dad-* 'to close' + *-hi-*

먹히 *mΛghi-* 'to be eaten' < *mΛg-* 'to eat' + *-hi-*

꽂히 *kojhi-* (/koci/) 'to be inserted' < *koj-* 'to insert' + *-hi-*

(iii) *-li-* after *l*-final stems and *l*-doubling stems (4.2.2.1.2.4) and after the *d*-final stems (cf. 4.2.2.2.2.3), e.g.

끌리 *killi-* 'to be drawn' < *kil-* 'to draw' + *-li-*

벌리 *bal:lli-* 'to be earned' < *bal:l-* 'to earn' + *-li-*

불리 *bulli-* 'to be called' < *buli-* 'to call' + *-li-*

들리 *dilli-* 'to be heard' < *did-/dil-* 'to hear' + *-li-*

(iv) *-gi-* after stems ending in *m*, *n*, *s*, *c* and *nh*, e.g.

감기 *gamgi-* 'to be wound' < *gam-* 'to wind' + *-gi-*

안기 *angi-* 'to be embraced' < *an-* 'to embrace' + *-gi-*

빼앗기 *p̄easgi-* 'to be snatched' < *p̄eas-* 'to snatch' + *-gi-*

쫓기 *çocgi-* 'to be chased' < *çoc-* 'to chase' + *-gi-*

끊기 *kinhgi-* (/kinki-/) 'to be disconnected'

< *kinh-* 'to disconnect' + *-gi-*

4.3.1.2. Causative Voice Suffix

The causative voice suffix may be found with any type of active verb stem, processive (both transitive and intransitive) or descriptive, with the exception of the copula verb *i-* 'to be', and has the following phonologically conditioned allomorphs: (i) *-u-*, (ii) *-i-*, (iii) *-gi-* (iv) *-hi-*, (v) *-li-*, (vi) *-hi-/hu-*.

(i) *-u-* after stems ending in *i* or *ɛ*, e.g.

비우 *biu-* 'to empty' < *bi-* 'to be empty' + *-u-*

새우 *seu-* 'to keep vigil' (lit. 'to cause dawn to break')

< *sɛ-* 'to dawn' + *-u-*

- (ii) *-i-* after stems ending in a vowel other than *i*, *e*, or after those ending in *g*, e.g.

보이 *boi-* 'to show' < *bo-* 'to see' + *-i-*

추이 *cui-* 'to cause ... to dance' < *cu-* 'to dance' + *-i-*

먹이 *magi-* 'to feed, to make ... to eat' < *mag-* 'to eat' + *-i-*

- (iii) *-gi-* after stems ending in *m*, *n*, *d*, *t*, *s*, e.g.

남기 *namgi-* 'to leave behind, to make ... to remain'

< *nam-* 'to remain' + *-gi-*

신기 *singi-* 'to cause [someone] to put on [shoes]'

< *sin-* 'to put on [shoes]' + *-gi-*

뜯기 *lidgi-* 'to cause ... to graze or pluck' < *lid-* 'to graze' + *-gi-*

맡기 *matgi-* 'to cause ... to undertake' < *mat-* 'to undertake' + *-gi-*

벗기 *basgi-* 'to make ... to undress' < *bas-* 'to undress' + *-gi-*

- (iv) *-hi-* after stems ending in *b*, *lg* and after some *g*-final stems, e.g.

입히 *ibhi-* 'to clothe' < *ib-* 'to wear' + *-hi-*

넓히 *nalbhi-* 'to widen' < *nalb-* 'to be wide' + *-hi-*

읽히 *ilghi-* 'to make ... to read' < *ilg-* 'to read' + *-hi-*

썩히 *šaghi-* 'to cause ... to decay' < *šag-* 'to decay' + *-hi-*

묵히 *mughi-* 'to cause ... to lie idle' < *mug-* 'to stay [idle]' + *-hi-*

- (v) *-li-* after *l*-final stems, some *d*-final stems (cf. 4.2.2.2.2.3) and some *l*-doubling stems (cf. 4.2.2.1.2.4), e.g.

날리 *nalli-* 'to fly [something]' < *nal-* 'to fly' + *-li-*

울리 *ulli-* 'to make ... cry' < *ul-* 'to cry' + *-li-*

걸리 *galli-* 'to make ... walk' < *gal-d-* 'to walk' + *-li-*

흘리 *hilli-* 'to make ... flow or drop' < *hili-* 'to flow' + *-li-*

- (vi) *-hi-/hu-* after *j*-final stems, e.g.

맞히 / 맞추 (맞추) *majhi-/majhu-* 'to get [something] correct'

< *maj-* 'to be correct' + *-hi-/hu-*

늦히 / 늦추 (늦추) *nijhi-/nijhu-* 'to slow down'

< *nij-* 'to be slow' + *-hi-/hu-*

It is noted that some causative and passive voice suffixes are identical in form, i.e., *-i-*, *-hi-*, *-gi-* and *-li-*. Consequently some active verb stems, transitive verb stems in particular, occurring with one of these homophonous passive/causative suffixes are indistinctive as to passivity/causativity when they occur alone, e.g.

보인다 *boinda* '[It] is seen.' or '[He] shows [it].'

업힌다 *abhinda* '[It] is carried on the back.' or

'[She] makes [someone] carry [someone] on the back.'

신긴다 *singinda* '[Shoes] are put on.' or

'[She] makes [someone] put on shoes.'

날린다 *nallinda* '[It] is flown.' or '[He] flies it.'

In actual constructions, however, their voice status is easily determined by the presence or absence of object(s), since passive verbs occur without an object whereas causative verbs occur with one or more objects (cf. 6.3.5-6), e.g.

책이 보인다 */cegi boinda/* 'The book is seen.' — pasv.

책을 보인다 */cegil boinda/* '[He] shows a book.' — caus.

종이가 날린다 */joniga nallinda/* 'The paper is flown.' — pasv.

종이를 날린다 */jonilil nallinda/* '[He] flies the paper.' — caus.

Not all active verb stems can be suffixed by the passive and/or causative voice suffixes, and consequently there are many active stems which are not paired by the passive and/or causative counterparts formed with relevant voice suffixes. A good dictionary should give full details of such verbs, as well as meanings. However, those active verb stems lacking the suffix-derived passive or causative counterparts can still have the passive/causative voice formed to some extent by means of auxiliary verbs in a phrasal form (cf. 3.4.1.3.2, 5.2.1.1.2.3).

4.3.2. Honorific Suffix

There is only one honorific suffix, *-si-/isi-* V/C-form, which may be found with any verb stem or a verb stem plus a voice suffix, with the exception of the honorific verb stems, which already have the honorific element built into them (cf. 3.4.1.3.1.1). The class meaning of the honorific suffix is the 'Respect' shown by the speaker to the subject of a clause or sentence in which it occurs, e.g.

가신다 *gasinda* '[He] is going.' < *ga-* 'to go' + *-si-* + *-nda*

당신이 잡히시면 *dapsini jabhisimjan* 'If you are captured.'

< *jab-* 'to capture' + *-hi-* pasv.vc.sfx. + *-si-* + *-mjan*

의사가 환자를 살리시었다 *iisaga hwanjalil sallisiŋda*

'The doctor has saved a patient.'

< *sal-* 'to live' + *-li-* caus.vc.sfx. + *-si-* + *-ŋs-* past t.sfx. + *-da*

줍으십시오 *jibisibisio* 'Please pick [it] up.'

< *jib-* 'to pick up' + *-isi-* + *-bisio*

4.3.3. Tense Suffixes

There are four basic tense suffixes and one retrospective tense suffix:

- (i) Basic Tense Suffixes

(a) Zero neutral and present tense

(b) *-n-/nin-* V/C-form, present tense

- (c) -aš-/~Λš- a/Λ-form, past tense
 (d) -geš- future tense

(ii) *Retrospective Tense Suffix*

- (e) -di-/~dΛ-

The past tense suffix -aš-/~Λš- may be reduplicated and/or combined with the future tense suffix -geš to give the compound tense suffixes as follows:

- (f) -ašΛš-/~ΛšΛš- V/C-form, past perfect tense
 (g) -ašgeš-/~Λšgeš- V/C-form, past presumptive tense
 (h) ašΛšgeš-/~ΛšΛšgeš- V/C-form, past perfect presumptive tense

The retrospective suffix -di-/~dΛ- may combine with any tense suffixes except the present tense suffix -n-/~nin-. Restrictions on the distribution of the tense suffixes with verb stems and other suffixes will be described in the relevant sections dealing with the tense system.

4.3.3.1. *Tense System*

The category of tense in Korean falls into two major types, 'Direct Tense' and 'Retrospective Tense'. The direct tense, or simply 'Tense' for short, refers to the actual time of the action or event denoted by verbs. On the other hand, the retrospective tense refers always to a past event as reflected by the speaker and, in the interrogative sentence, by the addressee, at the time of utterance, e.g.

Direct Tense

- 봄이 온다 *bomi onda* 'Spring comes.'
 봄이 왔다 *bomi oašda* 'Spring came/has come.'
 봄이 오니 *bomi oni* 'Is spring coming?'

Retrospective Tense

- 봄이 오더라 *bomi odΛla* 'Spring came [I remember].'
 봄이 왔더라 *bomi oašdΛla* 'Spring had come [I remember].'
 봄이 옵디까 *bomi obdiKa* 'Was spring coming [as you recall]?'

Tense, direct or retrospective, is either simple or compound according to the manner in which it is formed. The simple tense is formed with the tense suffixes and the compound tense is constructed with an auxiliary verb. In other words, Korean tense is constructed in two different ways and represented at two different levels; by suffixation at the word level, and by auxiliary verb construction at the syntactic (phrase) level. All compound tenses are constructed with the auxiliary verb *iš-* 'progressive tense formative' and are all progressive tenses. The complete system of Korean tense is set out below to serve as a point of reference for later discussion.

*Direct Tense**Simple Tense*

- (a) Neutral Tense
 (b) Present Tense
 (c) Past Tense
 (d) Future Tense

- (e) Past Perfect Tense
 (f) Past Presumptive Tense
 (g) Past Perfect Presumptive Tense

Compound Tense

- (a) Present Progressive
 (b) Past Progressive
 (c) Future Progressive
 (d) Past Progressive Presumptive

*Retrospective Tense**Simple Tense*

- (a) Present Retrospective Tense
 (b) Past Retrospective Tense
 (c) Future Retrospective Tense
 (d) Past Presumptive Retrospective Tense

Compound Tense

- (a) Present Progressive Retrospective Tense
 (b) Future Progressive Retrospective Tense
 (c) Past Progressive Presumptive Retrospective Tense.

4.3.3.1.1. *Direct Tense*4.3.3.1.1.1. *Simple Tense*4.3.3.1.1.1.1. *Neutral Tense*

The neutral tense lacks any time reference and is used exclusively in such special styles as monologue, diary, poetry, etc. It is morphologically unmarked and its occurrence is restricted to processive verbs suffixed by -*da* 'declarative mood ending of the low plain speech style' (cf. 4.3.5.1.4.1). It should be noted that all processive verbs are listed in Korean dictionaries in the neutral tense form, e.g. 가다 *gada* 'to go', 먹다 *magda* 'to eat', etc., whereas all descriptive verbs are listed in the present tense form (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.1.2), e.g., 크다 *kida* 'to be big', 맑다 *malgda* 'to be clear', etc., e.g.

- 가다 *gada* 'to go, [I] go/went.' < *ga-* 'to go' + -*da*
 열시에 자다 *jΛ:siε jada* '[I] sleep/slept at ten.' < *ja-* 'to sleep' + -*da*

4.3.3.1.1.1.2. *Present Tense*

Present tense suffix: -*n-/~nin-* V/C-form, Zero

The present tense is formed in two different ways according to the type of verbs and inflectional endings involved: (i) processive verbs occurring with *-da* ending form the present tense with the present tense suffix *-n-/-nin-*; (ii) all descriptive verbs as well as those processive verbs occurring with an inflectional ending other than *-da* form the present tense with Zero. The present tense has present time reference, and with processive verbs it may indicate 'present progressive' or, when accompanied by an adjunct of future time, it has future time reference, e.g.

- 그가 물을 마신다 *giga mulil masinda* '[He] drinks water.'
 < *masi-* 'to drink' + *-n-* + *-da*
 날이 덥습니다 *nali dabsibnida* 'It is warm.'
 < *dab-* 'to be warm' + Zero + *-sibnida*
 하늘이 푸르다 *hanili pulida* 'The sky is blue.'
 < *puli-* 'to be blue' + Zero + *-da*
 새가 운다 *sega unda* 'The bird is singing.' < *ul-* 'to sing' + *-n-* + *-da*
 사과를 먹는다 *sagwalil magninda* '[He] is eating an apple.'
 < *mag-* 'to eat' + *-nin-* + *-da*
 내일 떠납니다 *neil lanabnida* 'I am leaving tomorrow.'
 < *lana-* 'to leave' + Zero + *-bnida*.
 또 오지 *to oji* 'I will come again.' < *o-* 'to come' + *-Zero* + *-ji*

4.3.3.1.1.3. Past Tense

Past tense suffix: *-aš/-as-*, *a/Λ*-form

The past tense is formed with the past tense suffix *-aš/-as-* and represents (a) 'simple past', i.e., completion of an action or event in the past, always with descriptive verbs but, with processive verbs, only when accompanied by an adjunct of past time reference, (b) present perfect, i.e., continuation to the present time of the past event, with processive verbs if unaccompanied by an adjunct of past time reference, e.g.

(a) Simple Past

- (전엔) 길이 좁았다 (*janen*) *gili jobašda* 'The road was narrow (before).'
 (어제) 이 꽃이 붉었습니다 (*aje*) *ikoci bulgašibnida*
 'This flower was red (yesterday).'
 작년에 보았습니다 *jagnjane boasibnida* '[I] saw it last year.'
 지난달에 일을 했습니다 *jinandale ilil hešibnida*
 '[I] did the work last month.'

(b) Present Perfect

- 신문을 보았습니다 *simmunil boasibnida* 'I have seen the paper.'
 일을 했습니다 *ilil hešibnida* 'I have done the work.'
 밥을 먹었습니다 *babil magasibnida*
 '[He] has had his supper [and is full].'

4.3.3.1.1.4. Future Tense

Future Tense Suffix: *-geš-*

The future tense is formed with the future tense suffix *-geš-*, and represents (a) 'intensive future' when it occurs in the declarative sentence with a first person pronoun as subject or in the interrogative sentence with a second person pronoun as subject, (b) presumptive present or future otherwise, e.g.

(a) Intensive Future

- 내가 하겠오 *nega hagešo* 'I will do it.'
 우리가 내일 사겠습니다 *uliga neil sagešibnida*
 'We will buy [it] tomorrow.'
 네가 먹겠니 *nega maggešni* 'Will you eat it?'
 당신들이 기다리겠오 *dansindili gidaligešo* 'Will you wait [for it]?'

(b) Presumptive Present or Future

- 할머니가 곧 오시겠다 *halmniga god osigešda*
 'Granny might come soon.'
 학교에 늦겠습니다 *haggjoe nijgešibnida*
 'You/he may be late for school.'
 기차가 늦겠습니다 *gicaga nijgešibnika* 'Is the train going to be late?'
 기분이 좋을지겠습니다 *gibun johisigešibnida* 'You may be feeling fine.'

-li/ili- is also a future tense suffix representing 'intensive future' but it is restricted in distribution compared to the suffix *-geš-*, e.g.

- 내일 하리다 *neil halida* 'I will do it tomorrow'
 밤에 묶으리다 *bame mukilida* 'I'll bind it at night'

4.3.3.1.1.5. Past Perfect Tense

Past perfect tense suffix: *-ašas/-asas-*, *a/Λ*-form

The past perfect tense refers to (a) 'remote past' or 'past-past', i.e., [the completion of an action or event at] a time earlier than some past time, either expressed or implied, when the verb involved is processive or descriptive, (b) 'simple past' with descriptive verbs, in which case it is similar to the past tense except that it is somewhat more emphatic than the latter, e.g.

(a) Past-Past

- 한국에 갔었다 *hanguge gašasda*
 '[He] had gone/has been to Korea (and is here now).'
 cf. 한국에 갔다 *hanguge gašda*
 '[He] has gone to Korea (and is there now).'
 아저씨가 오셨었다 *ajasiğa osjāsda*
 'Uncle had come (and is not here now).'
 cf. 아저씨가 오셨다 *ajasiğa osjāda* 'Uncle has come (and is here now).'

몹시 염려하셨었습니다 *mobsi jamnjahasjaššibnida*

'[Mother] had been very worried (not now).'

cf. 몹시 염려하셨습니다 *mobsi jamnjahasjašibnida*

'[Mother] has been worried.'

이 다리가 그전에는 더 길었습니다

idaliga gijanen da gilššibnida 'This bridge was longer before.'

(b) Simple Past

물이 참 더웠었지 *muli cam dawaššaji*

'The water had been/was very hot.'

cf. 물이 참 더웠다 *muli cam dawašda* 'The water was very hot.'

4.3.3.1.1.1.6. Past Presumptive Tense

Past presumptive tense suffix: 았겠 / 었겠 -*ašgeš-/-šgeš-*, *a/ä*-form

The past presumptive tense has the same time reference as the past tense but in addition it expresses presumption: (a) 'past presumptive', (b) 'present perfect presumptive', e.g.

(a) Past Presumptive

(전엔) 길이 좁았겠다 (*janen*) *gili jobašgešda*

'The road may have been narrow (before).'

(어제) 이 꽃이 붉었겠습니다 (*aje*) *ikoci bulgašgešibnida*

'This flower may have been red (yesterday).'

작년에 보았겠습니다 *jagnjane bošgešibnida*

'[You] might have seen it last year.'

지난 달에 일을 했겠습니다 *jinandale ilil hešgešibnida*

'[He] might have done the work last month.'

(b) Present Perfect Presumptive

신문을 보셨겠습니다 *sinmunil bosjašgešibnida*

'You may have seen the paper.'

밥을 먹었겠습니다 *babil magjašgešibnida* 'He may have had his supper.'

The first person pronouns never occur with the past presumptive tense unless there is in the same sentence a non-final adverbial clause such as the one ending in -*mjan* 'if', e.g.

네가 갔으면 나도 갔겠다 *nega gašimjan, nado gašgešda*

'If you had gone, I might have gone too.'

4.3.3.1.1.1.7. Past Perfect Presumptive Tense

Past perfect presumptive tense suffix: -*aššgeš-/-ššgeš-*, *a/ä*-form

The past perfect presumptive tense has the same time reference as the past perfect tense but in addition it expresses 'presumption': (a) past-past presumptive and (b) simple past presumptive, e.g.

(a) Past-past Presumptive

한국에 갔었겠다 *hanguge gaššgešda* '[He] might have gone to Korea.'

아저씨가 오셨었겠다 *ajašiga osjaššgešda* 'Uncle might have come.'

몹시 염려하셨었겠습니다 *mobsi jamnjahasjaššgešibnida*

'[Mother] might have been worried.'

이 다리가 전에는 더 길었었겠습니다

idaliga janenin da gilššibnida

'This bridge might have been longer before.'

(b) Simple Past Presumptive

물이 참 더웠었지 *muli cam dawaššgešji*

'The water may have been very hot.'

4.3.3.1.1.2. Compound Tense

The four compound tenses, which are all progressive tenses, are formed by two-verb verbal phrases consisting of a verb inflected with the concatenating ending -*go* and the auxiliary verb *iš-*. The compound tense is possible only with processive verbs or processive verbal phrases (cf. 5.2.1.1.2).

4.3.3.1.1.2.1. Present Progressive Tense

V.st. + -*go iš-* + pres.t.sfx.

아침을 먹고 있다 *acimil maggo išda* '[He] is having breakfast.'

išda < iš- + Zero t.sfx. + -*da*

4.3.3.1.1.2.2. Past Progressive Tense

V.st. + -*go iš-* + past t.sfx.

눈이 오고 있었지 *nu:ni ogo iššji* 'It was snowing.'

iššji < iš- + -*š-* past t.sfx. + -*ji*

4.3.3.1.1.2.3. Future Progressive Tense

V.st. + -*go iš-* + fut.t.sfx.

Like the future tense, the future progressive tense represents "intensive future" progressive and "presumptive present or future" progressive (see 'Future Tense', 4.3.3.1.1.4., for details).

내가 책을 읽고 있겠다 *nega cegil ilgo išgešda*

'I will be reading a book.'

영국으로 오고 있겠다 *janggugilo ogo iſgeſda*
 '[He] may be on his way to England.'

4.3.3.1.1.2.4. Past Progressive Presumptive Tense

V.st. + -go iſ- + past presumpt.t.sfx.

전화를 하고 있었습니까 *ja:nhwalil hago iſaſgeſibnida*
 '[She] might have been ringing.'
iſaſgeſibnida < iſ- + -aſgeſ- past presumpt.t.sfx. + -ibnida

4.3.3.1.2. Retrospective Tense

The retrospective tense is formed by adding to verbs inflected with a direct tense suffix the retrospective tense suffix, of which there are two allomorphs -di-/da-. -di- occurs only in the declarative and interrogative mood of the high formal speech style (cf. 4.3.5.1.1) and -da- in the declarative and interrogative mood of the low plain speech style (cf. 4.3.5.1.4.1-2) as well as in the adjectival and adverbial clause (cf. 6.4.2-3).

Besides the retrospective tense suffix -di-/da-, there are four inflectional endings which represent the retrospective tense. They are -de/-dande of the declarative mood of the high plain style (cf. 4.3.5.1.3.1), and -di-, -de, and -dan of the interrogative mood of the low plain style (cf. 4.3.5.1.3.2). Therefore, these four inflectional endings, called 'Retrospective Endings', will be taken as forming part of the retrospective tense system along with the retrospective tense suffixes proper. There are four simple and three compound retrospective tenses.

4.3.3.1.2.1. Simple Retrospective Tense

4.3.3.1.2.1.1. Present Retrospective Tense

The present retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the Zero present tense suffix either -di-/da- or one of the retrospective endings, refers to a past event as recollected by the speaker or, if it occurs in the interrogative sentence, by the listener, e.g.

아이가 울더라 *aiga uldala* 'The child cried [I remember].'
 달이 밝읍디다 *dali balgibdida* 'The moon was bright [I remember].'
 집이 크디 *jibi kidi* 'Was the house large, [as you recall]?'

4.3.3.1.2.1.2. Past Retrospective Tense

The past retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the past tense suffix either the retrospective suffix or one of the retrospective endings, refers to a past-past event as recollected by the speaker or the listener, e.g.

벌써 기계가 고장이 났더라 *balſa gigeſa gojaſi naſdala*
 'The machine was already out of order [as I recall].'

전쟁이 끝났던 *ja:njeſi kitnaſdan* 'Was the war over [as you recall]?'

Descriptive verbs do not occur with the past retrospective tense, e.g.

머리가 짧았읍디다 **maliga calbaſibdida*
 cf. 머리가 짧읍디다 *maliga calbibdida* '[His] hair was short [I recall].'

However, a descriptive verb which has formed a processive verbal phrase with a processive verb formative, e.g., the auxiliary verb *ji-* (cf. 5.2.1.1.2 and 5.2.1.1.2.3), can occur with the past retrospective tense, e.g.

머리가 짧아 지었읍디다 *maliga calba jiſibdida*
 '[His] hair had become short [I recall].'

4.3.3.1.2.1.3. Future Retrospective Tense

The future retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the future tense suffix -geſ- either the retrospective tense suffix or one of the retrospective endings, refers to the presumption of an event in the past or past-future, e.g.

비가 오겠더라 *biga ogeſdala* 'It looked like raining [I recall].'
 그도 뛰겠읍디다 *gido twigeſibdida* '[He] would run too [I thought].'
 물이 차겠데 *muli cageſde* 'Water might be cold [I thought].'
 하늘이 맑겠던 *hanili malgeſdan*
 'Would the sky be clear [you thought]?'

As shown by the second example above, the future tense suffix -geſ- and the retrospective tense suffix -di- are discontinuous, being separated by -ib- 'high formal speech style'. Such discontinuity also occurs between other tense suffixes and the retrospective suffix when they co-occur with -ib-.

4.3.3.1.2.1.4. Past Presumptive Retrospective Tense

The past presumptive retrospective tense, formed by adding to verb stems with the past presumptive, either the retrospective suffix, or one of the retrospective endings, refers to a presumptive past-past event as recollected by the speaker or listener, e.g.

돈이 없었겠더라 *doni a:bsaſgeſdala*
 '[He] might have been short of money [I thought].'
 시합이 시작되었겠읍디다 *sihabi sijagdweaſgeſibdida*
 'The match might have started [I thought].'
 아이들이 싸웠겠디 *aidili ſawaſgeſdi*
 'Might they have fought each other [as you recall]?'

4.3.3.1.2.2. Compound Retrospective Tense

The compound retrospective tense is formed by adding to the direct com-

pound tense either the retrospective suffix *-di/-da-* or one of the retrospective endings. There are three compound retrospective tenses.

4.3.3.1.2.2.1. Present Progressive Retrospective Tense

The present progressive retrospective tense, formed by adding the retrospective suffix or a retrospective ending to the present progressive tense (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.2.1), refers to a past progressive event as recollected by the speaker, e.g.

종을 치고 있더라 *jonil cigo isdala*
 '[They] were ringing a bell [I recall].'
 아이가 뛰고 있던 *aiga twigo isdan*
 'Was the child jumping around [as you recall]?'

4.3.3.1.2.2.2. Future Progressive Retrospective Tense

The future progressive retrospective tense, formed by adding the retrospective suffix or a retrospective ending to the future progressive tense, refers to a past progressive presumptive event as recollected by the speaker or the addressee, e.g.

공부를 하고 있겠더라 *gonbulil hago isgesdala*
 '[He] might have been studying, [I thought].'
 전화를 하고 있겠디 *ja:nhwalil hago isgesdi*
 'Might [she] have been telephoning [as you recall].'

4.3.3.1.2.2.3. Past Progressive Presumptive Retrospective Tense

The past progressive presumptive retrospective tense, formed by adding the retrospective suffix or a retrospective ending to the past progressive presumptive tense, refers to a past-past progressive presumptive event as recollected by the speaker or the addressee, e.g.

달을 보고 있었겠더라 *dalil bogo isasgesdala*
 '[She] might have had been looking at the moon [I thought].'
 극장에 가고 있었겠디 *gigjaje gago isasgesdi*
 'Might [he] have had been going to the theatre [as you remember]?'

4.3.4. Humble Suffix

The humble suffix has the effect of lowering the status of the speaker against the addressee, thereby increasing the degree of respect shown by the former toward the latter to a greater extent than is possible by means of the high or low formal speech style alone. The humble suffix, though hardly used nowadays in normal speech, is, however, not infrequently employed in religious services as well as in the literary language. The humble suffix appears in

four different allomorphs conditioned both phonologically and morphologically, e.g.

- (a) 오 / 으오 *-o/-io-*
 V/C-form: before inflectional endings
*-bnida, -na, -mjān, -mjā, -ni, -a(jo)*¹
- (b) 읊 / 으읊 *-ob/-iob-*
 V/C-form: before inflectional endings
-naida, -naika, -sosa, -ji(jo),¹ -go, -dado
- (c) 사오 *-sao-*
 C-form: before the same inflectional endings as listed in (a)
- (d) 사옵 *-saob-*
 C-form: before inflectional endings *-naida* and *-naika*

Any of these forms may occur immediately after a verb stem or a stem plus a voice suffix, and *-o/-io-* and *-ob/-iob-* of (a) and (b) may be preceded by the honorific suffix *-si/-isi-* and/or a tense suffix, except for the present tense suffix *-n/-nin-*, but *-sao-* and *-saob-* of (c) and (d) cannot be preceded by the honorific suffix unless a tense suffix is found between them simultaneously, e.g.

날이 차웁니다 *nali caobnida* 'It is (very) cold.'
 어디로 가시옵나이까 *adilo gasiobnaika* 'Where are you going?'
 비를 내려 주시옵소서 *bilil nelja jusiobsosa* 'Please give us rain!'
 꽃이 붉사옵지요 *koci bulgsaobjijo* 'Flowers are red.'
 잊으시었사오나 *ijisiassaona* 'although you have forgotten'
 책을 더럽히시었사오니 *cegil dalabhisiassaoni*
 'as [you] have spoilt the book'

4.3.4.1. Difference between Honorific and Humble Suffix

The honorific suffix *-si/-isi-* (cf. 4.3.2) and the humble suffix, both employed to express the speaker's respect, are different from one another in that the honorific suffix directs the speaker's respect to the subject of a sentence, whereas the humble suffix directs it to the addressee. And of course the respect shown by the humble suffix is the result of degradation of the speaker's status against the addressee(s), e.g.

선생님이 오신다 *sanseonimi osinda*
 'The teacher is coming.' *-si-* hon.sfx.
 [Context: a child speaking to his friends.]

¹ The sentence particle *jo* is compulsory when the inflectional endings *-a* and *-ji* are preceded by the humble suffix.

아이가 가옵니다 *aiga gaobnida* 'The child is going.' -o- 'humble sfx.'

[Context: a child speaking to his teacher.]

할머니 오시옵니다 *halmanimi osiobnida*

'The grandmother is coming.' -si- hon.sfx. -o- humble sfx.

[Context: a servant speaking to her mistress, showing respect for both the subject and the addressee (mistress).]

선생님이 오십니다 *sanseonimi osibnida*

'The teacher is coming.' -si- 'hon.sfx.'

[Context: a child speaking to an adult.]

The humble suffix is similar in function to the high and low formal speech style inflectional endings as they both show the speaker's respect to the addressee.

4.3.5. Inflectional Endings

The inflectional endings which are the last elements occurring within the verb are grouped into three different categories on the basis of the syntactic functions which they enable verbs to perform. They are (i) 'Final Endings', (ii) 'Non-Final Endings', and (iii) 'Concatenating Endings'. A verb inflected with a final ending can function as the predicate of a final clause, the one with a non-final ending as the predicate of a non-final clause, and the one with a concatenating ending as a concatenating form in the verbal phrase structure (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1).

4.3.5.1. Final Endings

Five speech styles, and in each speech style four kinds of mood, are distinguished by the final endings: (i) 'High Formal', (ii) 'Low Formal', (iii) 'High Plain', (iv) 'Low Plain' and (v) 'Medium' styles.

4.3.5.1.1. High Formal Style

The high formal style is the most polite form of speech whereby the speaker expresses respect toward the addressee(s). It is used on formal occasions, in conversation between strangers, by younger people to their elders, and by people of lower social status to those of a higher one. All inflectional endings of the high formal styles except *-naida* and *-naika*, consist of an ordered sequence of three suffixes, which are:

(a) *ㅂ* / *읍* -*b* / -*ib*- high formal style sfx.

(b) *니* -*ni*- indicative mood sfx.
시 -*si*- volitive sfx.
디 -*di*- retrospective sfx.

(c) *다* -*da* declarative or propositive mood sfx.

까 -*ka* interrogative mood sfx.

오 -*o* imperative mood sfx.

These three classes of suffix combine to give the following inflectional endings:

ㅂ니다 / *읍니다* -*bnida* / -*ibnida* V/C-form

ㅂ니까 / *읍니까* -*bnika* / -*ibnika* V/C-form

ㅂ시다 / *읍시다* -*bsida* / -*ibsida* V/C-form

ㅂ시오 / *읍시오* -*bsio* / -*ibsio* V/C-form

These inflectional endings will be discussed in turn in the following sections.

4.3.5.1.1.1. Declarative Mood Endings

(a) *ㅂ니다* / (*ㅅ*) *읍니다* -*bnida* / -(*s*)*ibnida* V/C-form

(b) *나이다* -*naida*, An archaic form whose use is restricted to the literary style and religious service

Examples

밤이 깁니다 *bami gibnida* 'The night is long.'

개를 쫓(*ㅅ*) 읍니다 *gelil cōc(s)ibnida* 'They are chasing a dog.'

곧 떠나겠나이다 *god tʌnagesnaida* '[I] will leave soon.'

4.3.5.1.1.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(a) *ㅂ니까* / (*ㅅ*) *읍니까* -*bnika* / -(*s*)*ibnika* V/C-form

(b) *나йка* -*naika*, an archaic form, cf. *-naida* in 4.3.5.1.1.1.

Examples

왜 안옵니까 *wɛ anobnika* 'Why is [he] not coming?'

길이 좁(*ㅅ*) 읍니까 *gili job(s)ibnika* 'Is the road narrow?'

언제 오시었나йка *anje osiʌsnaika* 'When did he come?'

The /*s*/ in the declarative and interrogative mood endings -(*s*)*ibnida* and -(*s*)*ibnika* is optional.

4.3.5.1.1.3. Imperative Mood Endings

-(*si*)*bsio* / -(*isi*)*bsio* V/C-form

The imperative mood ending *-bsio* occurs almost always preceded by the honorific suffix *-si* / -*isi*-. All imperative mood endings of any speech style cannot occur with a tense suffix except the Zero present tense (cf. 4.3.3), e.g.

빨리 하십시오 *palli hasibsio* 'Please do [it] quickly.'

하나만 집으십시오 *hanaman jibisibsio* 'Please take only one.'

4.3.5.1.1.4. *Propositive Mood Endings*

-bsida/-ibsida V/C-form

Like the imperative mood endings, all propositive mood endings, irrespective of speech style, can not occur with a tense suffix except the Zero present tense, e.g.

천천히 봅시다 *cancanhi bobsida* 'Let us see [it] slowly.'

같이 그리십시오 *gati gilisibside* 'Let us draw [it] together.'

4.3.5.1.2. *Low Formal Style*

The low formal style is lower and consequently less polite than the high formal style. It is the style most often used between equals and by superiors to people of lower status. However, it is hardly used by children.

Unlike the inflectional endings of the high formal style, those of the low formal style, as well as all other lower styles, are single morphemes representing both the categories of speech style and mood simultaneously.

4.3.5.1.2.1. *Declarative Mood Endings*

(a) 오 / 으오 -o/-io V/C-form

소 -so C-form (after stems with Zero t.sfx.)

(b) 구려 -gulja interjectival (always preceded by a non-Zero t.sfx. when it occurs with a processive verb)

Examples

나도 할 줄 아오 *nado haljul ao* 'I know how to do [it] too.'

물이 맑소 *mul malgso* 'Water is clear.'

달이 떴구려 *dali tægulja* 'The moon has risen.'

4.3.5.1.2.2. *Interrogative Mood Endings*

오 / 으오 -o/-io V/C-form

소 -so C-form (after stems with Zero t.sfx.)

These endings, although identical in form to those of the declarative mood, differ from the latter intonationally. Interrogative sentences formed with one of the interrogative mood endings are characterized by Intoneme R, whereas declarative sentences formed with one of the declarative mood endings are characterized by Intoneme LF or HF (cf. 7.3.2.1.1 and 7.3.2.2), e.g.

내일 떠나시오 *neil ñanasio* 'Are you leaving tomorrow?'

종이를 안 집으오 *jonjilil anjibio*

'Are you not going to pick up the paper?'

상이 적소 *saji jagso* 'Is the table small?'

4.3.5.1.2.3. *Imperative Mood Endings*

(a) 오 / 으오 -o/-io V/C-form

소 -so

(b) 구려 -gulja (with processive verb stems only)

Imperative sentences formed with one of the imperative mood endings are not always distinguishable from declarative sentences formed with one of the homophonous declarative mood endings. However imperative sentences, though characterized by the same type of intonation as declarative sentences are, i.e., Intoneme LF or HF, are often distinguished from the latter by (a) a higher and more abrupt pitch contour and (b) a stronger stress associated with them, e.g.

주의를 하시오 *juilil hasio* 'Be careful.'

어서 드소 *aseo diso* 'Help yourself (lit. 'take quickly').'

마음대로 하구려 *maimdelo hagulja* 'Do as you please.'

4.3.5.1.2.4. *Propositive Mood Endings*

There is no propositive mood ending for the low formal style, paralleling other mood endings already described. The high formal propositive mood ending -bsida/-ibsida, without the honorific suffix -si-/i-, may be treated as the exponent of the low formal propositive mood, e.g.

순경한테 물어봅시다 *songjaghante mulabobsida*

'Let's ask the policeman.'

4.3.5.1.3. *High Plain Style*

The high plain style is lower and less polite than the low formal style, and is used by older people to younger, and by people of higher social status to those of a lower one.

4.3.5.1.3.1. *Declarative Mood Endings*

(a) 네 -ne

(b) 으세 / 음세 -mse/-imse V/C-form (promissive)

(c) 데 -de (retrospective ending)

(d) 댄데 -dande (retrospective ending)

Verbs with the ending *-mse/-imse* can have as their subject the first person pronouns only, i.e., *na* 'I', *uli* 'We', etc., and indicate 'future promise' or 'intention' by the speaker. *-mse/-imse* is not found with any tense suffix except the Zero t.sfx., e.g.

- 아주 안 보이네 *aju anboine* '[It] is totally out of sight.'
 내가 해 줘세 *nega hejumse* 'I will do it for you.'
 급히 저리 가데 *gibhi jaligade* '[She] went there in a hurry [I recall].'
 누어 있던데 *nuŭa isdande* '[He] was lying in bed [I remember].'

4.3.5.1.3.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(a) 나 *-na* (after V.p. only)

(b) ㄴ가 / 은가 *-nga/-inga* V/C-form (after V.d. only)

(c) 는가 *-ninga* (after V.p. only)

(d) ㄹ까 / 을까 *-lka/-ilka* V/C-form — uncertainty

- 언제 보았나 *anŭe boasna* 'When did you see?'
 어느것이 좋은가 *anigasi johinga* 'Which one is good?'
 신문을 읽었는가 *sinmunil ilgashninga* 'Did you read the newspaper?'
 정말 울었을까 *jalŭmal ulashilka* 'Has she really cried [I wonder]?'

4.3.5.1.3.3. Imperative Mood Ending

게 *-ge*, e.g.

- 이제 쉬게 *ije swige* 'Rest now.'
 내려 오게 *nelja oge* 'Come down.'

4.3.5.1.3.4. Propositive Mood Ending

세 *-se*, e.g.

- 보내지 마세 *bonŕji mase* 'Let us not send [it].'
 차 한잔 하세 *ca hanjan hase* 'Let us have a cup of tea.'

4.3.5.1.4. Low Plain Style

The low plain style is the lowest style of speech in Korean, used by adults to children, between children, between intimate friends, male or female, and it is also the standard style of written Korean.

4.3.5.1.4.1. Declarative Mood Endings

(a) 나 *-da*

(b) 라 *-la* (found only with *-da-*, retros.t.sfx.)

(c) 마 / 으마 *-ma/-ima* V/C-form, promissive

(d) 구나 *-guna* interjectival

Like *-mse/-imse* (cf. 4.3.5.1.3.1), *-ma/-ima* can have as the subject the first person pronouns only, and is not preceded by any tense suffix except Zero. The interjectival ending *-guna*, which expresses emotions of various kinds on the part of the speaker, must be preceded by a non-Zero tense suffix when occurring with processive verb stems, but no such restriction applies when it occurs with descriptive verb stems. The ending *-guna* takes *-nin-* form only when it combines with the present tense suffix, e.g.

- 꽃이 핀다 *koci pinda* 'The flower is blooming.'
 꽃이 곱더라 *koci gobdŕla* 'The flower was pretty, [I remember].'
 내가 사오마 *nega saoma* 'I will buy [it]. (lit. 'I will buy and come.)'
 너도 컸구나 *nado kashguna* 'You have grown up too!'
 날이 덥구나 *nali dŕbguna* 'It is hot!'
 이제 가는구나 *ije ganinguna* '(You) are going now!'

Interjectival endings such as 이라 *-ila* (after a noun) and 으리라 *-(i)lila* (after a verb) may also be listed under this heading.

4.3.5.1.4.2. Interrogative Mood Endings

(a) 니 *-ni*

(b) 느냐 *-ninja* after V.p.

(c) 냐 / 으냐 *-nja/-inja* V/C-form, after V.d.

(d) 디 / 데 / 던 *-di/-de/-dan* retrospective ending

Of the first three endings, *-ni* is more colloquial and more used between close friends than *-ninja* or *-nja/-inja*, which is used usually by adults in talking to youngsters, e.g.

- 자니 *jani* 'Are you sleeping?'
 소리가 나느냐 *soliga naninja* 'Is there any sound?'
 푸르냐 *pulinja* 'Is it blue?'
 어느것이 짧으냐 *anigasi calbinja* 'Which one is short?'
 무엇을 하디 *mwasil hadi* 'What did [he] do [as you recall]?'
 노래를 하던 *nolŕlil hadan* 'Did [she] sing [as you recall]?'

4.3.5.1.4.3. Imperative Mood Endings

(a) 아라 / 어라 *-ara/-ŕla* a/ŕ-form

(b) 거라 *-gŕla*

(c) 너라 *-nala* (found only with *-o* 'to come')

The ending *-ala/-la* may be suffixed to any processive verbs, but *-gala* to only a few verbs, such as *-ga-* 'to come', *-ja-* 'to sleep', *iš-* 'to stay', etc., e.g.

좃아라 *cocala* 'Follow [him].'

모자를 벗어라 *mojalil basala* 'Take off your hat.'

교회에 가거라 *gjahwee gagala* 'Go to the church.'

이리 오너라 *ili onala* 'Come here.'

최선을 다 하여라 *cwesaniil da hajala* 'Do your best.'

4.3.5.1.4.4. *Propositive Mood Ending*

자 *-ja*, e.g.

찾자 *cajja* 'Let's find [it].'

내일 불이자 *neil bucija* 'Let us post [it] tomorrow.'

4.3.5.1.5. *Medium Style*

The medium speech style is between the high plain and low plain styles and is used by elders to those younger where the high plain is felt to be a little too high and the low plain style a little too low. It can also be used between equals whose relationship is not so intimate as to require the low plain style.

All inflectional endings of the medium style can function as endings of the low formal style when they are followed by the particle *jo* 'speech style modulator' (cf. 3.4.5.7).

4.3.5.1.5.1. *Declarative Mood Endings*(a) 아 / 어 *-a/-a a/a-form*(b) 지 *-ji* *suspective*(c) 군 *-gun* *interjectival*

The ending *-gun*, like *-guna* (cf. 4.3.5.1.4.1), must be preceded by a non-Zero tense suffix when occurring with processive verb stems, but no such restriction applies when it occurs with descriptive verb stems, e.g.

아이가 울어 *aiga ul* 'The child is crying.'

구두가 잘 맞아 *guduga jal maja* 'The shoes fit me well.'

누가 열었어요 *nuga jalasjo* 'Someone has opened [it].'

돈이 많지 *doni manhji* '[He] has plenty of money.'

손이 곱군 *soni gobgun* '[Your] hand is pretty.'

4.3.5.1.5.2. *Interrogative Mood Endings*(a) 아 / 어 *-a/-a a/a-form*(b) 지 *-ji* *suspective*

The first two endings, although identical in form to the declarative endings, are different from the latter intonationally (cf. 4.3.5.1.2.2), e.g.

어른이 나가고 있어 *alini nagago is* 'It the adult going out?'

내가 맞았지 *nega majsji* 'Am I not right?'

4.3.5.1.5.3. *Imperative Mood Ending*

-a/-a a/a-form

This ending is usually, but not always, distinguished from the homophonous declarative ending by (a) a higher and more abrupt pitch contour and (b) a stronger stress associated with it (cf. 4.3.5.1.2.3), e.g.

어서 앉아요 *asa anja jo* 'Please sit down.' (lit. 'quickly sit down')

잘 먹어 *jal mag* 'Eat carefully.'

4.3.5.1.5.4. *Propositive Mood Ending*

-a/-a a/a-form

Verbs suffixed by this ending are hardly distinguishable from those suffixed by the homophonous imperative mood ending since they are identical not only in intonation, both being characterized by Intoneme LF or HF, but also in the pitch/stress feature associated with the imperative ending (4.3.5.1.2.3). However, apart from the context of situation which is usually the only clue leading to the distinction of imperative and propositive mood, the presence of a first person pronoun *uli* 'we' serves as the marker of the propositive mood ending, e.g.

이제 놀아 *ije nola* 'Let's play now.'

우리도 내려가 *ulido nelja gaa* 'Let us go down too.'

4.3.5.2. *Non-Final Endings*

The non-final endings are classified into three different types according to the syntactic functions which they enable verbs to perform: they are (i) 'Nominal Clause Ending', (ii) 'Adjectival Clause Ending', and (iii) 'Adverbial Clause Ending'. Unlike the final endings, the non-final endings do not distinguish the five styles of speech.

The non-final endings may be preceded by an appropriate voice suffix and/or the honorific suffix, but the humble suffix is only rarely found with the non-final endings. Any restriction on the occurrence of tense suffixes with the non-final endings will be noted in the relevant sections.

4.3.5.2.1. Nominal Clause Endings

There are two nominal clause endings and any verb suffixed by one of them has the same syntactic function as a noun.

(a) ㅁ / 음 *-m/-im* V/C-form

(b) 기 *-gi*

There is some difference, both distributional and semantic, between the two endings:

(a) Distributional difference

The endings *-m/-im* and *-gi* are different in their distribution with the nominal auxiliary verbs. *-m/-im* occurs only with *-jigha* (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.2), whereas *-gi* only with *-ha-* (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.2), e.g.

말이 믿음직하다 *ma:li midim jighada* '[His] word is worth listening to.'
어둡기는 하다 *adubgi nin hada* 'It is dark, I admit.'

(b) Semantic difference

-m/-im refers to the abstract side of the meaning of a verb to which it is added whereas *-gi* emphasizes (i) 'actual process' in the case of a processive verb, or (ii) 'degree' in the case of a descriptive verb, e.g.

이 편지를 씀이 좋다 *ipjanjilil šimi johda*
'Writing this letter is good [for some reason].'
이 편지를 쓰기가 좋다 *ipjanjilil šigiga johda*
'This letter is good to write' or 'I like writing this letter.'
전등이 밝음 *ja:ndiŋi balgim*
'the lamp being bright (that the lamp is bright)'
전등이 밝기 *ja:ndiŋi balgi* '[the degree of] the lamp being bright'
balg- 'to be bright' V.d.

4.3.5.2.2. Adjectival Clause Endings

There are three adjectival clause endings and any verb suffixed by one of them has the same syntactic function as an adjective:

(i) ㄴ *-nin* present

(ii) ㄴ / 은 *-n/-in* V/C-form past/present

(iii) ㄹ / 을 *-l/-il* V/C-form future/presumptive

The three adjectival clause endings are different from one another (a) in distribution with verbs, (b) in time reference when they are not preceded by any

other tense suffix, (c) in distribution with tense suffixes and (d) in distribution with the adjectival auxiliary verbs:

(i) *-nin* is suffixed to processive verbs only and refers to the present time or to an action or event in progress. It is never found with any other tense suffix¹ and occurs with auxiliary verbs *didha-*, *jaŋha-*, and *caŋha-* (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.3), e.g.

자는 개 *janin ge* 'the sleeping dog'
비가 오는듯 하다 *biga onin didhada* 'It looks as if it is raining.'

(ii) *-n/-in* may be suffixed to any verb but its time reference varies according to the type of verb to which it is suffixed: with processive verbs it refers to the past time or to an action or event that has been completed, but with descriptive verbs it refers to the present time, e.g.

with processive verbs:

뛴 사람 *iwin sa:lam* 'the man who ran/has run'
집은 돌 *jibin do:l* 'the pebble that I picked up'

with descriptive verbs:

작은 모자 *ja:gin moja* 'a small cap'
긴 강 *gin gaŋ* 'a long river'

The ending *-n/-in* may be preceded by the retrospective tense suffix *-da-* or the past tense suffix *-aš-/-aš-* plus *-da-*, e.g.

울던 아내 *uldan ane* 'the wife who, [I remember], cried/was crying'
외국에 갔던 장군 *weguge gašdan jaŋgun*
'the general who had been abroad [as I remember]'

Like *-nin*, the ending *-n/-in* may occur with auxiliary verbs *didha-*, *jaŋha-* and *caŋha-* (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.3), e.g.

못 본 척한다 *mos bon caŋhanda*
'[She] pretends that she did not see [you].'

(iii) *-l/-il* may be suffixed to any verb and refers to the future time or presumptive, e.g.

공을 집을 아이 *goŋil jibil ai* 'the child who will pick up a ball'
달이 밝을 때 *dali balgil te* 'the time when the moon is/may be bright'

-l/-il may be preceded by the past tense suffix *-aš-/-aš-* very freely and by the future tense suffix *-geš-* only rarely, e.g.

자랐을 아들 *jalašil adil* 'the son who might have grown up'
죽겠을 경우 *juggešil gjaŋgu*
'the situation in which you might feel like dying'

¹ As an exception, *-nin* may be preceded by the future tense suffix *-geš-* when they occur with the verb *jug-* 'to die', e.g., *juggešin sa:lam* 'The person who may be dying'.

-*il*-*il* may occur with adjectival auxiliary verbs *dida-*, *manha-*, *babha-* and *banha-* (cf. 3.4.1.3.2.3), e.g.

다칠뻔 했다 *dacil banhešda* '[I] was almost hurt.'

4.3.5.2.3. Adverbial Clause Endings

Any verb suffixed by one of the following adverbial clause endings has the same syntactic functions as an adverb. Some adverbial clause endings, marked Zero t.sfx., are not preceded by any tense suffix while others may be preceded by a tense suffix other than *-n/-nin-*, pres.t.sfx., which is found only with the final inflectional ending *-da* (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.1.2). The time reference of an adverbial clause ending not preceded by a tense suffix is determined by that of a final clause with which the adverbial clause occurs.

1. 고 -go 'and', e.g.

자네는 가고 나는 온다 *janenin gago nanin onda*
'You are going and I am coming.'

아침을 먹고 하겠다 *acimil maggo hagesda* 'I will do it after breakfast.'

요 -jo 'and' (after V.c. only); Zero t.sfx., e.g.

선수이요 코치이다 *sa:nsu ijo koci ida* '[He] is a player and coach.'

2. 며 / 으며 -mjA/-imjA V/C-form 'and', e.g.

새가 노래를 했으며 꽃이 웃었다 *sega nolelil hešimja koci usašda*
'Birds sang and flowers smiled.'

3. 고서 -go(sA) 'and then, afterward' (after V.p. only); Zero t.sfx., e.g.

일을 하고 (서) 떠나자 *ilil hago(sA) i:ana:ja*
'Let's do the job and then leave.'

4. 며 (느) / 으며 (느) -mjA(nSA)/-imjA(nSA)

V/C-form 'at the same time, while'; Zero t.sfx., e.g.

꿈을 꾸며 자니 *kumil kumja jani* 'Are you sleeping [while] dreaming?'
들으면서 본다 *dilimjansa bonda* 'They see while listening.'

5. 자 -ja 'as soon as' Zero t.sfx. [This usually occurs in double form, with the second -ja suffixed to the verb *mal-* 'to stop'.] E.g.

깨자 말자 *keja malja*
'as soon as [he] wakes up' (lit. 'wakes up and stops waking up')

해가 뜨자 사라졌다 *hega i:ja sala:jašda*
'[It] disappeared as soon the sun rose.'

6. 도록 -dolog 'until, so that' Zero t.sfx., e.g.

거지가 가도록 기다리자 *ga:ji:ga gadolog gidali:ja*
'Let's wait until the beggar goes away.'

게 -ge 'until, so that' Zero t.sfx.

소리가 나게 때려라 *soliga nage i:elja:la*
'Beat [it] until/so that it makes a noise.'

7. 르수록 / 을수록 -lsulog/-ilsulog

V/C-form 'the more ... the more'; Zero t.sfx., e.g.

볼수록 좋다 *bolsurog johda* 'The more I see it, the better.'

8. 러 / 으려 -l(j)A/-il(j)A

러고 / 으려고 -l(j)Ago/-il(j)Ago

고자 -go:ja

} V/C-form } 'in order to'; Zero t.sfx.

These endings are suffixed to V.p. only, e.g.

살려고 먹는다 *salljago magninda* '[We] eat in order to live.'

9. 르뿐더러 / 을뿐더러 -l(pund)A/-il(pund)A V/C-form,

'not only ... but also, e.g.

잡았을뿐더러 다 먹었다 *jibašilpundala da maglašda*
'Not only did I take it but also ate it all.'

10. 다(가) -da(ga) interruption, transference', e.g.

가다가 온다 *gadaga onda*
'[She] is coming back while on the way' (lit. 'while going comes').

11. 거나 -gana

든(지) -din(ji)

나 / 으나 -na/-ina V/C-form

} 'whether ... or'

These endings occur in double form, e.g.

오거나 가거나 *ogana gagana* 'whether [they] come or go'

했든지 안했든지 *hešdingi an hešdingi*
'whether [she] did [it] or [did not do it].'

12. 면 / 으면 -mjAn/-imjAn V/C-form

거든 -gadin

} 'if, when', e.g.

짧으면 좋지 *calbimjan johji* '[It] is good if it is short.'

보거든 말을 해라 *bogadin malil hela* 'Tell [him] when you see him.'

13. 아야 / 어야 *-aja/-aja a/Λ-form* } 'only if, only when', e.g.
 라야 *-laja* (after V.c.) Zero t.sfx. }
- 약을 먹어야 낫지 *jagil mǎgaja nasji*
 '[You] will get well only when/if you take some pills.'
- 예쁜 책이라야 *jepin cegilaja* 'Only if it is a pretty book.'
14. (더) 아도 / 어도 *-(d)ado/-ado a/Λ-form*
 르지언정 / 을지언정 *-ljiǎnjǎj/-iljiǎnjǎj V/C-form* } 'even if/though'
 르지라도 / 을지라도 *-ljilado/-iljilado V/C-form* }
 르망정 / 을망정 *-manǎjǎj/-ilmanǎjǎj V/C-form*
 ㄴ들 / 은들 *-ndil/-indil V/C-form*
- 몰랐더라도 *mollasǎlado* 'Even if you did not know'
 해가 졌을망정 달이 있다 *hega jǎsilmǎnjǎj dali isǎda*
 'Even if the sun has set, there is the moon.'
- 부자인들 어떻게 해 *buja indil ǎshge he*
 'Even though [he] is a rich man, what can he do?'
15. 지만 *-jiman*
 건만 *-ganman* } 'although ...'
 나 / 으나 *-na/-ina V/C-form* } '... but'

Although identical in form, *-na/-ina* of (15) and *-na/-ina* of (11) are different endings. The former occurs in double form whereas the latter occurs in single form, e.g.

눈이 오지만 춥지 않다 *nu:ni ojiman cubji anhdǎ*
 'Although it is snowing it is not cold.'

신부는 있으나 신랑은 없구나 *sinbunin isǎna sinlǎjin ǎ:bguna*
 'The bride is there but the bridegroom is not.'

16. 려만 / 으려만 *-lǎnman/-ilǎnman*
 V/C-form 'might/would ... but' V/C-form, e.g.
- 사진이 많으려만 한장도 없다 *sajini manhilǎnman hanǎjǎdo ǎ:bda*
 'There might have been many photos but there isn't even one.'

17. 아서 / 어서 *-a(sa)/-a(sa) a/Λ-form* 'and then; as, since, because';
 Zero t.sfx., e.g.

우표를 사(서) 붙여라 *upjolil sasǎ butǎla*
 'Buy a stamp and stick it on.'

날이 맑아(서) 기쁘다 *nali mǎgasǎ gipǎda*
 '[I] am happy as the weather is fine.'

18. 므로 / 으므로 *-milo/-imilo V/C-form*, 'as, since, because', e.g.
 집이 크므로 방도 많다 *jibi kimilo banǎdo manhda*
 'As the house is large, there are many rooms too.'
19. 니(까) / 으니(까) *-ni(ka)/-ini(ka)*
 V/C-form Time: 'when, as'; Cause: 'because, as, since', e.g.
 다시 비니 용서하십시오 *dasi bini joǎsǎhasibsio*
 'As I apologize once more, please forgive me.'
- 너를 보니까 기뻐다 *nǎlil bonika gipǎsda*
 '[I] was happy to see you' (lit. 'because I met you').
20. 는데 *-ninde* (after V.p.) }
 ㄴ데 / 은데 *-nde/-inde* (after V.d.) } 'and' (topic introducer)
- 공부를 하는데 왜 우니 *gonǎbulil haninde we uni*
 'I am working — why are you crying?'
- 키가 큰데 뚱뚱하구나 *kiga kinde iunǎunǎhaguna*
 '[She] is tall and [yet] plump.'
21. 되 *-dwe* 'may/might ... but'
- 파티에 가되 얌전하게 있어라 *pa:tie gadwe jamǎanhage isǎla*
 'You may go to the party but behave yourself.'

4.3.5.3. Concatenating Endings

Every verb ending in one of the following four inflectional endings is a concatenating form, which occurs in the head structure of the verbal phrase (cf. 5.2.1).

- (a) 아 / 어 *-a/-a a/Λ-form*: Concatenating Ending I
 (b) 고 *-go* Concatenating Ending II
 (c) 게 *-ge* Concatenating Ending III
 (d) 지 *-ji* Concatenating Ending IV

The concatenating endings are not found preceded by any tense suffix. Processive verbs may end in any of the four concatenating endings, and descriptive verbs in *-a/-a*, *-ge* and *-ji*, e.g.

삶아 진다 *salma jinda* '[It] is/gets boiled.'

삶고 있다 *salmgo isda* '[She] is boiling it.'

크게 하여라 *kige hajǎla* 'Make it loud.'

크지 않다 *kiji anhdǎ* '[It] is not big.'

V PHRASE

The phrase consists of two or more words and may be substituted by a word of similar syntactic function. There are three types of phrase in Korean: (i) 'Nominal Phrase', (ii) 'Verbal Phrase' and (iii) 'Relational Phrase'.

5.1. NOMINAL PHRASE

The nominal phrase is an endocentric construction¹ consisting of a noun or its syntactic equivalent as head and one or more subordinates as expansion. A nominal phrase is syntactically identical to a single noun. An endocentric construction is a construction whose syntactic function is identical with that of one or more of its constituents. For instance, an English phrase 'fresh milk' is an endocentric construction since it has the same syntactic function as the noun 'milk'; e.g., in

Drink *milk*.

Drink *fresh milk*.

'fresh milk' occurs in the same syntactic position as 'milk', i.e., after the verb 'drink'. In the phrase 'fresh milk', 'milk' is called 'Head', and 'fresh' 'Subordinate', or 'Expansion', the term used in this book.

5.1.1. Elements and Structure of Nominal Phrase

The elements occurring in a nominal phrase may be divided into two major constituents, 'Head' and 'Expansion'. The order of occurrence of the two constituents is fixed, head always following expansion, except in careless and/or informal conversation where the Expansion-Head order may be reversed, e.g.

연필 *jāpīl* *jagi innin* 'the pencil which is there.'
H Exp.

The usual order of the two constituents of the above phrase is:

저기있는 *jagi innin* *jāpīl*
Exp. H.

¹ Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, 1950, 12.10, p. 194.

Examples

집 *jib* '[a] house'

새 집 *se jib* '[a] new house'

저 새 집 *ja se jib* 'that new house'

아름다운 저 새 집 *alimdaun ja se jib* lit. 'beautiful that new house'

어느 아름다운 한 새 집 *ani alimdaun han se jib*
lit. 'certain beautiful one new house'

In the examples given above, the noun *jib* 'house' is the head and the subordinate words preceding the head constitute the expansion.

5.1.2. Nominal Head

The exponent of the nominal head is (i) a single noun, simple or compound, (ii) two or more nouns linked with or without coordinators, or standing in apposition, (iii) a nominal group, or (iv) a compound numeral.

5.1.2.1. Single Noun as Nominal Head

Any noun can fill the position of the nominal head, whether it is independent or non-independent, simple or compound, e.g.

이 꽃 *i koc* 'this flower'

저 현 가방 *ja ha:n gabag* 'that old brief-case'

푸른 하늘 *pulin hanil* '[the] blue sky'

어느 것 *ani gas* 'Which one?' (lit. 'which thing')

두 권 *du gwan* 'two volumes'

아는 채 *anin ce* 'pretending to know'

넓은 서울운동장 *nalbin saulundongjag* 'Wide Seoul Stadium'
saulundongjag N.comp.

< saul 'Seoul' + undongjag 'stadium'

5.1.2.2. Two or More Nouns as Nominal Head

The linking of two or more nouns that fill the head position of the nominal phrase may be effected either by coordinator(s) or paratactically, unless they stand in apposition.

5.1.2.2.1. Nouns linked by Coordinator(s)

Nouns may be linked by a conjunctive particle (cf. 3.4.5.6 and 3.4.5.6.1) such as *wa/gwa* 'and' and *na/ina* 'or' or by a conjunctive adverb (cf. 3.4.4.6) such as *giligo* 'and' and *ionin* 'or' as the coordinator, e.g.

새와 고양이 *sewa gojaji* 'a bird and a cat'

산과 나무 *sangwa namu* 'the mountain and tree'

물과 강과 배 *mulgwa ganggwa be* 'water, river and ship'

서울이나 동경 *saulina donggjaŋ* 'Seoul or Tokyo'
 차나 커피 *cana kapi* 'tea or coffee'
 봄 그리고 여름 *bom giligo jalim* 'spring and summer'
 내일 또는 모레 *neil ionin mole* 'tomorrow or the day after tomorrow'

There is no theoretical limit to the number of nouns to be linked by coordinators and functioning as the head in the nominal phrase, but in practice they rarely exceed more than three in all.

5.1.2.2.2. Nouns linked by Parataxis

Paratactically-linked nouns do not include the coordinator(s) and are linked to one another phonologically by appropriate intonations, e.g.

야채, 고기, 생선 *·jace, ·gogi, ·seŋsan* 'vegetable, meat and fish'
 영화, 연극, 무용 *·jalghwa, ·ja:ngig, ·mujoŋ* 'film, play and ballet'

In the examples above, every noun except the last one, which may be realized with any nuclear Intoneme, is accompanied by either Intoneme LF or, more frequently, Intoneme R.

Paratactically linked nouns have potentiality of taking the coordinators, thus resulting in the same construction as nouns linked by the coordinators, e.g.

야채(와), 고기(와), 생선 *·jace(wa), ·gogi(wa), ·seŋsan*
 'vegetable, meat and fish'
 영화(와), 연극(과), 무용 *·jalghwa(wa), ·ja:ngig(gwa), ·mujoŋ*
 'film, play and ballet'

It is to be noted that of the coordinators, *na/ina* 'or' and *ionin* 'or' cannot be added between nouns linked paratactically. In other words, the coordinators that may be added between paratactically-linked nouns are *wa/gwa* 'and' and *giligo* 'and' only.

The structure of nouns linked either by coordinator or by parataxis may be summarily set out as follows:

$N^1(c) N^2(c) N^3(c) \dots N^n$
 (the superscript n refers to any number.)

5.1.2.2.3. Nouns in Apposition

Nouns in apposition consist of two immediate constituents, N^1 and N^2 , occurring in that order. N^1 is most often filled by a family name, a given name or by both, and sometimes by a nickname, and N^2 by a title or other nouns descriptive of N^1 . Less frequently, both N^1 and N^2 may be represented by nouns other than personal name and title, e.g.

한 교수 *han gjosu* 'Professor Han' (lit. 'Han Professor')
 윤 대통령 *jun detoŋnjaŋ* 'President Yun' (lit. 'Yun President')

강 감찬 장군 *gaŋ gamcan jaŋgun*
 $N^1 \quad N^2$

'General Gang Gamchan' (lit. 'Gang Gamchan General')

강 감찬 *gaŋ gamcan* < *gaŋ* surname + *gamcan* given name

김 노인 *gim noin* 'Old man Kim' (lit. 'Kim, the old man')

영철 선배 *jaŋcal sanbe*

'[my college] senior, Youngchul' (lit. 'Youngchul, my senior')

우리의 자랑 백두산 *ulii jalaj begtusan* 'Our pride, Mt. Paegdu'
 $N^1 \quad N^2$

Nouns in apposition usually form a single stress group (cf. 2.7) and are spoken consequently with a single intonation. However, when they are realized as two stress groups, N^1 and N^2 each forming a stress group, N^1 is usually marked by Intoneme L, e.g.

한 교수 *·hangjosu* 'Professor Han', or *-han ·gjosu*

윤 대통령 *·jundetoŋnjaŋ* 'President Yun', or *-jun ·detoŋnjaŋ*

The order of N^1 and N^2 may sometimes be reversed, especially when N^1 includes both family name and given name, resulting in $N^2 + N^1$, e.g.

장군 강 감찬 *jaŋgun gaŋ gamcan* 'General Gang Gamchan'
 $N^2 \quad N^1$

선수 유 인호 *sansu ju inho* 'the player, Yu Inho'
 $N^2 \quad N^1$

cf. *ju inho sansu*
 $N^1 \quad N^2$

Nouns standing in apposition are superficially similar in construction to those linked paratactically (cf. 5.1.2.2.2) since both constructions lack the coordinator(s). But in fact they are different from each other in the following respects:

- (i) Nouns in apposition are not capable of taking a coordinator between N^1 and N^2 , whereas nouns linked paratactically have the potentiality of taking a coordinator between every two member nouns.

Examples

(a) Nouns in apposition

김 교수 *·gimgjosu* or *-gim ·gjosu* 'Professor Kim'
 cf. *김과 교수 *gimgwa gjosu*

(b) Nouns in parataxis

사과, 밤 *sa·gwa, ·ba:m* 'apple and chestnut'
 cf. 사과(와), 밤 *sa·gwa(wa), ·ba:m*

- (ii) There is an intonational as well as junctural contrast between the two constructions. The first of two nouns standing in apposition is usually marked by Intoneme L and followed by plus juncture, whereas with paratactically linked nouns, every member noun is usually marked by Intoneme LF/HF or Intoneme R and followed by tentative juncture.

Examples

(a) Nouns in apposition

유인호 선수 -juinho -sansu 'the player, Yu Inho'

(b) Nouns in parataxis

자동차, 비행기 ja.donca, bi.hengi 'motor car and airplane'

5.1.2.3. Nominal Group as Nominal Head

The nominal group, which is itself an endocentric construction, has as its structure:

$N^1 N^2 N^3 \dots N^n$

in which N^n or the last N in the sequence is the head and all other nouns preceding N^n the subordinate(s). The subordinates may be further analysed as consisting of the last noun as the head and other nouns preceding it as the subordinate(s), and so on, e.g.

여행 준비 ja.hengi junbi
N¹ N²

'preparation for a journey' (lit. 'journey preparation')

영국 사람 jaŋgug sa:lam 'Englishman'
N¹ N²

미국 정부 시책 migug jaŋbu sicæg 'American government policy'
N¹ N³ N²

연구 계획 작성 완료 ja:ngu gehweg jagŋaŋ walljo
N¹ N² N³ N⁴

'the completion of the drawing of the research plan'
(lit. 'research plan drawing completion')

Like nouns in apposition, every member noun of a nominal group, if it forms a separate stress group, is normally marked by Intoneme L, except the last one, which may be accompanied by any intonation. However, a nominal group differs from nouns in apposition in that:

(i) every member noun except the last one has the potentiality of taking the adjectival particle (cf. 3.4.5.8) *ii* 'of', thereby resulting in an adjectival phrase standing in subordinate relation to the immediately succeeding noun, whereas nouns in apposition have no such potentiality. For example, a nominal group 여행 준비 ja.hengi junbi 'preparation for journey' can be rewritten as

여행의 준비 ja.hengi junbi
adj.ph. N

but an appositional construction 김복동 장군 gimbogŋon jaŋgun 'General Kim Bogdong' cannot be rewritten as

* 김복동의 장군 gimbogŋonji jaŋgun 'Kim Bogdong's general' without changing the original meaning.

(ii) the order of the member nouns cannot be altered, whereas that of the nouns in apposition is in general reversible. For instance, a nominal group, e.g. 여행 준비 ja.hengi junbi 'preparation for journey' cannot be rewritten as 준비 여행 junbi ja.hengi, which is either meaningless or means 'preparation journey or test journey', but an appositional construction like 김복동 장군 gimbogŋon jaŋgun 'General Kim Bogdong' can be rewritten as 장군 김복동 jaŋgun gimbogŋon.

5.1.2.4. Compound Numeral as Nominal Head

The compound numeral, which consists of two or more numeral nouns, may function as the head of the nominal phrase. A compound numeral may be followed by a classifier (cf. 3.4.2.2.1) and with it constitute a 'Compound Numeral Expression', which is itself an endocentric nominal phrase with the classifier as head. The first constituent of a compound numeral expression must be represented by a compound numeral adjective (cf. 3.4.3.1) and not by a compound numeral (noun) if its last number is one, two, three or four, e.g.

사십오 (원) sasibo (wan) 'forty five (won)'

< sasibo 'forty five' compound numeral

(< sasib + o) + wan monetary unit, classifier

삼백 육십 칠 (권) sambeg jugŋib cil (gwan)

'three hundred and sixty seven volumes'

< sambeg jugŋib cil '367' compound numeral + gwan 'volume', classifier

아흔 한 (마리) ahin han (mali) 'ninety one (heads) [of sheep]'

< ahin han '91', compound numeral adjective + mali 'head', classifier

5.1.2.4.1. To express the number or quantity of the referent of a noun, the following construction is most frequently used:

N + Compound Numeral Expression

Examples

책 이십오 권 ceg isibo gwan
N

'twenty five volumes of books' (lit. 'books twenty five volumes')

자동차 열여섯 대 jadoŋca jallja:ad de
N

'sixteen cars' (lit. 'cars sixteen sets')

종이 스물 한 장 *jonji simul han jaŋ*
N

'twenty one sheets of paper' (lit. 'paper twenty one sheets')

The construction N + Compound Numeral Expression may be best described as a special type of appositional construction.

As an alternative to the one described above, the following endocentric construction is also used, though less frequently:

Compound Numeral Expression + *ii* + N

이십오 권의 책 *isibo gwaniŋ ceg*
N

'twenty five volumes of books' (lit. 'twenty five volumes' books')

열여섯 대의 자동차 *jalljasad deiŋ jadonca*
N

'sixteen cars' (lit. 'sixteen sets' cars')

스물한 장의 종이 *simulhan jaŋji jonji* 'twenty one sheets of paper'
N

5.1.3. Nominal Expansion

The nominal expansion consists of (i) up to three adjectives, (ii) up to two adjectival clauses (cf. 6.4.3.2), (iii) one or more adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.3.2), or (iv) a combination of up to three adjectives and an adjectival clause.

5.1.3.1. Adjective(s) as Nominal Expansion

Any adjective and any combination of up to three adjectives may occur as the expansion of the nominal phrase, except that (i) the deictic and interrogative adjectives (cf. 3.4.3.2 and 3.4.3.3) are mutually exclusive, and (ii) two or more deictic or interrogative adjectives do not occur at a time. There is no fixed order in which adjectives are to occur within the nominal expansion except that a qualitative adjective (cf. 3.4.2.4), if present, must come last in the series, i.e., immediately before the head, e.g.

저 책 *ja ceg* 'that book' (*ja* Adj.deic.)

새 집 *se jib* '[a] new house' (*se* Adj.qual.)

어느 고장 *ani gojaŋ* 'Which locality?'

어느 새 고장 *ani se gojaŋ* 'Which new locality?'

어느 한 새 책 *ani han se ceg* '[a] certain new book' (*han* Adj.num.)

5.1.3.2. Adjectival Clause(s) as Nominal Expansion

Up to two adjectival clauses (cf. 6.4.3) may occur as the nominal expansion. When the expansion consists of two adjectival clauses, they are linked either by a coordinator such as *giligo* 'and' or *ionin* 'or', or by parataxis, e.g.

가는 사람 *ganin sa:lam* 'the man who is going' (lit. 'going man')

집에 오는 아이 *jibe onin ai*

'the child who is coming home' (lit. 'home coming child')

사과를 딸 처녀 *sagwalil il caji*

'the girl who will pick apple(s)' (lit. 'apple picking girl')

늙은 소 *nilgin so* 'an old cow' (lit. 'a cow which is old')

Adjectival clauses linked by coordinator:

젊은 그리고 어여쁜 신부 *jalmin giligo ajapin sinbu*
c

'a young and beautiful bride'

(lit. 'a bride who is young and beautiful')

어제 본 그리고 내일 만날 청년

aje bon giligo neil mannal cahnjan
c

'the young man whom I saw yesterday and will meet tomorrow.'

빨간 또는 파란 연필 *palgan ionin palan janpil*
c

'a red or blue pencil' (lit. 'a pencil which is red or blue')

Adjectival clauses linked by parataxis:

사람이 많은 복잡한 거리 *sa:lami manhin bogcapan gali*

'the crowded (and) busy street'

(lit. 'the street where people are numerous and which is complicated')

큰 얇은 종이 *kin jalbin jonji* 'a large and thin [sheet of] paper'

(lit. 'a paper which is large and thin')

It is to be noted that adjectival clauses linked by a coordinator or by parataxis are far less frequent than the semantically identical single adjectival clause, e.g.

젊은 그리고 어여쁜 신부 *jalmin giligo ajapin sinbu*
Cl. Cl.

'a young and beautiful bride'

cf. 젊고 어여쁜 신부 *jamko ajapin sinbu*
Cl.

사람이 많은 복잡한 거리 *sa:lami ma:nin bogcapan gali*
Cl. Cl.

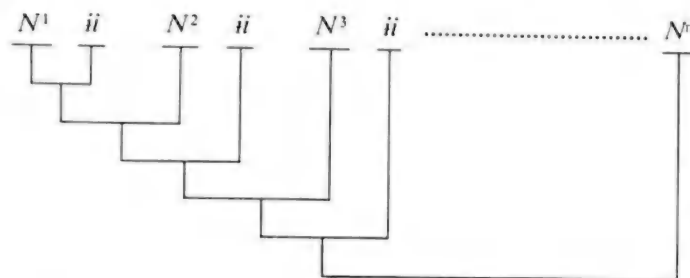
'the crowded and busy street'

cf. 사람이 많고 복잡한 거리 *sa:lami ma:nko bogcapan gali*
Cl.

5.1.3.3. Adjectival Relational Phrase(s) as Expansion

One or more adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.3.2), each consisting of N + *ii*, may occur as the nominal expansion.

A nominal expansion consisting of two or more adjectival phrases exhibits its IC (Immediate Constituent)¹ structure as follows:



Although theoretically unlimited, the number of adjectival relational phrases found in a nominal expansion is in general not more than three in all, e.g.

- 나의 어머니 *na ii amani* 'my mother'
 동무의 아저씨 *dongmu ii ajsi* '[my] friend's uncle'
 교육의 힘 *gjojug ii him* 'the power of education'
 어머니의 아버지의 사진 *amanii abajii sajin*
 '[my] mother's father's photo'
 교수의 연구의 결과 *gjosu ii ja:nguii gjalgwa*
 'the results of the professor's research'
 (lit. 'the results of research of the professor')
 친구의 아저씨의 선생의 딸 *cingu ii ajsi ii sanseŋ ii ial*
 '[my] friend's uncle's teacher's daughter'

There is a tendency, especially in spoken language, for the particle *ii* to drop when a series of it occurs in the nominal expansion, leaving as many as would be required to avoid ambiguity. For instance, the two examples given above may be rewritten as:

- cingu(ii) ajsi ii sanseŋ(ii) ial*
gjosu ii ja:ngu(ii) gjalgwa

5.1.3.4. Adjectives and Adjectival Clause as Expansion

Up to three adjectives and an adjectival clause, occurring in any order, except for the restrictions stated in 5.1.3.1, may occur as the nominal expansion, e.g.

- 한 씩씩한 청년 *han sigsikan calŋjan* '[a] brave young man'
 Adj. adj.cl.

¹ See R. S. Wells, *Language*, 23/2, 1947, pp. 81-117.

- 이 아름다운 새 차 *i alimdaun se ca* 'this beautiful new car'
 Adj. adj.cl. Adj.

- 그 서울에서 온 청년 *gi saulesa on calŋjan*
 Adj. adj.cl.

'that young man from Seoul'
 (lit. 'that who-comes-from-Seoul young man')

- 어느 한 좋은 새 집 *ani han johin se jib*
 Adj. Adj. adj.cl. Adj.
 'a certain nice new house'

5.1.4. Nominal Phrase embedded in a larger Nominal Phrase

A more complex nominal phrase may comprise an NP as its head, and every such NP includes two expansions, the one belonging to the embedded NP and the other to the larger NP of which the embedded NP occurs as head, as shown by the following formula:

- NP → Exp. + H
 H → NP¹
 NP¹ → Exp.¹ + H¹
 NP → Exp. + Exp.¹ + H¹

Very often a tentative juncture occurs after Exp. in the above formula, thus separating Exp. from Exp.¹, e.g.

- 내가 본 서울의 거리 *nega bon, saulii gali*
 Exp. Exp.¹ H¹
 H
 'the streets of Seoul that I saw'
 아름다운 여자의 목소리 *alimdaun, jajai mogsoli*
 Exp. Exp.¹ H¹
 H
 'the beautiful woman's voice'

A nominal phrase of the structure Exp. + Exp.¹ + H¹ may in some instances be subject to more than one structural interpretation and consequently give rise to semantic ambiguity. For instance,

- alimdaun jajai mogsoli* 'the beautiful woman's voice'

may be interpreted in two different ways depending on where the first IC cut is made; with the first cut coming between Exp. and Exp.¹, the nominal translates 'the woman's voice which is beautiful', but if it is made between Exp.¹ and H¹, the same phrase translates 'the voice of the beautiful woman'. The two different IC cuts may be shown by the following diagrams.

- (i) 아름다운 여자의 목소리
alimdaun jaja ii mogšoli 'the woman's voice which is beautiful'
 Exp. Exp.¹ H¹
 NP H

- (ii) 아름다운 여자의 목소리
alimdaun jaja ii mogšoli 'the voice of the beautiful woman'
 Exp. H.
 NP

alimdaun '(who/which) is beautiful' adj.cl.; *jaja* 'woman' N; *ii* 'of' Pcl.adj.; *mogšoli* 'voice' N.

The IC analysis of (i) refers to the structure of an NP comprising an embedded NP¹ as its head, i.e., Exp. + Exp.¹ + H whereas that of (ii) refers to an NP structure of Exp. + H type where Exp. is analysable into successively smaller constituents in the manner shown by the diagram. As stated earlier, a tentative juncture is frequently found between Exp. and Exp.¹ in the nominal phrase comprising an embedded NP and this phonological feature serves to distinguish, in spoken language at least, the former from the latter type.

5.2. VERBAL PHRASE

The verbal phrase, despite its central importance in Korean syntax and indeed in grammar as a whole, has been given an incomplete and unsystematic treatment up to now. Even when a discussion of the verbal phrase as such was attempted, which was very rare, it hardly went beyond two- or three-verb phrases and was fragmentary. This chapter attempts to describe the structuring of the verbal phrase in such a way that a complete picture may be shown.

The syntactic function, and especially the external distribution, of the verbal phrase is exclusively determined by the inflectional ending suffixed to the verb of such a phrase. For instance, a verbal phrase may function as a clause or sentence on its own when its last verb is inflected with a final ending, or as any non-final clause such as nominal, adjectival or adverbial clause when it is suffixed with a non-final ending. This, however, will be discussed at the clause level and the present section is devoted entirely to a discussion of the internal structure of verbal phrases.

5.2.1. Elements and Structure of Verbal Phrases

The verbal phrase has two immediate constituents, 'Expansion' and 'Head', occurring in that order. The head is further analysed into 'Nucleus' which

consists of one to three full verbs and 'Satellite' which consists of one or more auxiliary verbs. The expansion, consisting of an adverb or an adverbial phrase, is an optional element and so is the satellite. The verbal phrase structure may be set out by the following diagram.

Adv./Adv.ph.	V ¹ V ² V ³	V.aux. ¹ V.aux. ² V.aux. ³ V.aux. ⁿ
	Nucleus	(Satellite)
Expansion	Head	

Where the verbal head consists of two or more full verbs, or of one or more full verbs plus one or more auxiliary verbs, every verb except the last one must be inflected in one of the four concatenating forms (cf. 4.3.5.3) as required by the immediately succeeding verb. Apart from a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9), a plus juncture or less frequently a tentative juncture, no word of any class can intervene between any two elements within a verbal phrase, e.g.

(i) Nucleus only

너머 가다 *nama gada* 'to go over' < *nama* 'crossing' + *gada* 'to go'
 잡아 구어 먹다 *jaba gu magda* 'to catch, grill and eat'

(ii) Nucleus + Satellite

가고 싶다 *gago sibda* '[I] want to go.'
 Nuc. Sat.

< *gago* 'going' + *sibda* 'to want to'

집에 지다 *jiba jida* 'to be picked up'
 Nuc. Sat.

< *jiba* 'picking up' + *jida* pasv.vc.fmtv.

뛰어 가고 싶어하고 있다 *iwia gago sipa hago idda*
 Nuc. Sat.

'to be wanting to go running' < *iwia* 'running' + *gago* 'going'
 + *sipa* 'wanting to' + *hago* 'proc.v.fmtv.' + *idda* progr.t.fmtv.

(iii) Expansion + Head

잘 하다 *jal hada* 'to do [something] well' < *jal* 'well' + *hada* 'to do'
 Exp. Nuc.

H

얼른 뛰어가다 *allin iwia gada* 'to go running quickly'

Exp. Nuc.

H

< *allin* 'quickly' + *iwia gada* 'to go running'

아주 멀리 뛰어가고 싶어하고 있다

aju malli iwiŋ gago sipa hago idia

Exp. Nuc. Sat.

H

'to be wanting to go running very far'

< *aju* 'very' + *malli* 'far' + *iwiŋ gago* 'to go running'

+ *sipa hago idia* 'to be wanting to'

5.2.1.1. Head of Verbal Phrase

In Korean, as in other 'Turanian' languages,¹ 'Expansion' (or subordinative/*déterminant*) regularly precedes 'Head' (or *déterminé*), e.g., adjective precedes noun, adverb precedes verb, and so on. However the relation obtaining between 'Nucleus' and 'Satellite', the two constituents of the verbal head, is rather unique. The satellite, consisting of one or more auxiliary verb(s), is syntactically bound and therefore unable to perform any syntactic function by itself unless it is preceded by the nucleus which is syntactically free. This criterion justifies taking the nucleus as central and the satellite as subordinate to the former. In respect of the syntactic function(s) of the verbal head as a whole, however, the satellite is central and the nucleus only peripheral, since it is (the last auxiliary verb of) the satellite which determines the external distribution of the verbal head and ultimately the entire verbal phrase in which the satellite occurs. Accordingly, by the criterion of syntactic function, the nucleus is subordinate to the satellite. For instance, in the verbal head

가고 싶어 한다 *gago sipa handa* '[he] wants to go'

Nuc. Sat.

the satellite that consists of two auxiliary verbs cannot occur on its own and perform any syntactic function unless it is preceded by the nucleus, here represented by *gago* 'going', which can occur on its own independently of the satellite. On the other hand, the function of the verbal head as a whole in various syntactic positions is determined exclusively by the satellite, or to be more precise, by the inflectional ending suffixed to the last auxiliary verb in the satellite. Thus, (a) the occurrence of *gago sipa handa* as a complete sentence, (b) its function as an adjectival clause as in

gago sipa hanin cingu 'the friend who wishes to go',

adj. cl.

and (c) its function as an adverbial clause as in

gago sipa hajado mod ganda '[He] cannot go even if he wishes to.'

adv. cl.

are all made possible by the satellite.

5.2.1.1.1. Nucleus of Verbal Head

One to three processive verbs (cf. 3.4.1.1), each inflected in the concatenating form I except for the last one, may occur as the nucleus of a verbal phrase. A one-verb nucleus is most frequent, a two-verb nucleus less frequent, and a three-verb nucleus is very rare. Descriptive verbs may occur as the exponent of a one-verb nucleus but no multiple-verb nucleus may include, or consist entirely of descriptive verbs, with the exception of two-verb nuclei of which the second verb is *boi-* 'to be seen, to be shown, to seem', a passive verb derived from *bo-* 'to see' V.tr. The first position of such a nucleus may be filled by any descriptive verb or by some processive verbs such as *nilg-* 'to grow old', *maŋdil-* 'to be bruised', etc., e.g.

뛰어 간다 *twiŋ ganda* '[He] is running away' (goes running)

< *iwi-* 'to run' V.p.

늡어 보인다 *nilgə boinda* '[He] looks old.' < *nilg-* 'to get old' V.p.

젊어 보입니다 *jalma boibnida* '[She] looks young.'

< *jalma-* 'to be young' V.d.

5.2.1.1.1.1. Transitive and Intransitive Nucleus

The nucleus is of two different types, transitive and intransitive, according to the type of verbs included in it. The nucleus which includes one or more transitive verb(s) is a transitive type and its syntactic function is the same as that of a single transitive verb. On the other hand, the nucleus which consists only of intransitive verbs is an intransitive type and has the same syntactic function as an intransitive verb, e.g.

(i) Nucleus of Transitive Type

범을 잡아 간다 *ba:miŋ jaba ganda*

O V.tr. V.intr.

Nuc.

'[They] are taking the tiger with them'

(lit. 'they have caught the tiger and are going away').

밥을 앉아 먹었니 *babil anja maganni*

O V.intr. V.tr.

Nuc.

'Did you eat your supper sitting down?'

¹ C. E. Bazell, 'The Fundamental Syntactic Relations', 11.

꽃을 심어 가꾸자 *kocil sima gakuja*
 O V.tr. V.tr.
 Nuc.

'Let us plant flowers and look after them.'

빵을 구어 잘라 놓았다 *paŋil gua jalla noadja*
 O V.tr. V.tr. V.tr.
 Nuc.

'[She toasted, cut, and served the bread.]'

술을 누어 따라 마신다 *sulil nuaŋ ita masinda*
 O V.intr. V.tr. V.tr.

'[He] is drinking wine lying down'

(lit. 'wine lying pouring out is drinking').

(ii) Nucleus of Intransitive Type

기어 가다 *gia gadja* '[He] went crawling' (lit. 'crawling went').
 V.intr. V.intr.

뛰어 온다 *iwia onda* '[He] is coming running' (lit. 'running comes').
 V.intr. V.intr.

앉아 쉬어 갈까 *anja swia galka*
 V.intr. V.intr. V.intr.

'Shall we sit down and rest before we go?'

(lit. 'sitting resting shall we go?')

5.2.1.1.2. Satellite of Verbal Head

The satellite which is the optional element in the structure of the verbal head consists of one or more auxiliary verbs, each inflected in the appropriate concatenating form, except for the last one. The number of auxiliary verbs that may be found within a satellite is theoretically unlimited. For instance, *anh-*, V.aux. for negation, may be repeated any number of times, as in the following example with multiple negations:

가고 싶지 않지 않지 않지... 않지 않다
gago sibci anci anci anci ... anci anta
 '[I] do not do not do not ... do not want to go.'
 < *gago* 'to go' V.intr., *sibci* 'to want' V.aux.

But in practice not more than five auxiliary verbs occur in the verbal head.

A general statement may be made as follows with regard to various functions of auxiliary verbs which constitute the satellite of the verbal head:

(i) Every auxiliary verb in the satellite determines the concatenating form in which the immediately preceding verb, whether it is a full verb in the nucleus or another auxiliary verb in the satellite, is to be inflected. For instance, in the following verbal head,

먹고 싶지 않다 *maggo sipji anhdā* / *magko sibci anta*/
 Nuc. Sat.
 'I don't want to eat.'

the auxiliary verb *anhda*, negation, selects the concatenating ending *-ji* for the immediately preceding verb *sip-* 'to want to', which in turn selects the concatenating ending *-go* for the full verb in the nucleus *mag-* 'to eat'.

(ii) Every auxiliary verb in the satellite adds to or modifies the meaning of the verb(s) in the nucleus. For example in *먹고 싶지 않다 maggo sipji anhdā* 'I don't want to eat' the two auxiliary verbs *sip-* 'to want to' and *anh-*, negation, add their respective meanings to the meaning of the nuclear verb *mag-* 'to eat'.

(iii) Some auxiliary verbs determine the type of the verbal head in which they occur, i.e., verbal head of processive type or of descriptive type. Thus a verbal head consisting of a descriptive verb and the auxiliary verb *ji-*, e.g.

작아 진다 *jaga jinda* '[It] becomes small.'
 V.d. V.aux.

is a head of processive type and behaves syntactically as a processive verb such as *ga-* 'to go':

가고 있다 *gago isda* '[He] is going.'
 V.p. V.aux.

작아 지고 있다 *jaga jigo isda* '[It] is becoming small.'
 V.d. V.aux. V.aux.

cf. 작고 있다 **jaggo isda*

On the other hand, a verbal head consisting of a processive verb and the auxiliary verb *sip-* 'to want to' is a head of descriptive type and behaves syntactically as a descriptive verb such as *jag-* 'to be small'. For instance, a head of descriptive type like

가고 싶다 *gago sipda* '[I] want to go'
 V.p. V.aux.

cannot be directly followed by the auxiliary verb *is-* 'progressive tense formative', any more than a descriptive verb can, and consequently neither a descriptive verb nor a verbal head of descriptive type can have the progressive tense unless it is first transformed into a processive type by means of one of the processive verb formatives such as *ha-*, *ji-*, *dwe-*, etc.

Examples

작아 지고 있다 *jaga jigo isda* '[It] is becoming small.'
 V.d. V.aux. V.aux.

가고 싶어 하고 있다 *gago sipa hago isda*
 V.p. V.aux. V.aux. V.aux.

'[He] wants to go' (lit. 'He is wanting to go').

(iv) Some auxiliary verbs supplement and extend the morphological formations of voice and tense, i.e., passive voice formation by the auxiliary verb *ji-* pasv.vc.fmtv., and progressive tense formation by the auxiliary verb *is-* (cf. 4.3.3.1.1.2), e.g.

찢어 진다 *çija jinda* '[It] is [being] torn.'
V.tr. V.aux.
먹고 있다 *maggo isda* '[He] is eating.'
V.tr. V.aux.

5.2.1.1.2.1. Classification of Auxiliary Verbs according to Concatenating Restrictions

In this section auxiliary verbs will be classified into four different groups according to the concatenating form in which they require the immediately preceding verb, full or auxiliary, to be inflected, and then each auxiliary verb in each group will be discussed in turn as regards other relevant features.

5.2.1.1.2.1.1. Auxiliary Verbs of Group I

Any auxiliary verb of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form I, i.e., *-a/-a* (cf. 4.3.5.3).

- | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. 보 <i>bo-</i> | 2. 주 <i>ju-</i> | 3. 드리 <i>dili-</i> | 4. 데 <i>de-</i> |
| 5. 버리 <i>bal-i-</i> | 6. 쌓 <i>sah-</i> | 7. 지 <i>ji-</i> | 8. 가 <i>ga-</i> |
| 9. 오 <i>o-</i> | 10. 놓 <i>noh-</i> | 11. 나 <i>na-</i> | 12. 내 <i>ne-</i> |

All auxiliary verbs of group I are processive and may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of processive type, with the exception of *ji* which may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of both processive and descriptive type. A verbal head whose satellite consists of, or ends in one of the auxiliary verbs of group I is itself a processive type and may be followed by any other auxiliary verb. See 5.2.1.1.2.3 for examples.

5.2.1.1.2.1.2. Auxiliary Verbs of Group II

Any auxiliary verb of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form II, i.e., *-go* (cf. 4.3.5.3).

1. 앓 *is-* 2. 싶 *sip-*

These auxiliary verbs are descriptive and may be preceded by a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of processive type only. A verbal phrase whose satellite consists of, or ends in, one of the two auxiliary verbs of group II is itself a descriptive type and may be followed directly by an auxiliary verb of descriptive type such as *aniha-* 'negation' or *mosha-* 'negation' (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1.4). However, it cannot be followed by an auxiliary verb of processive type unless it is first of all transformed into a processive type by taking a processive verb

formative such as *ji-*, *ha-*, *mandil-* and *dwe-* (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.1.2.1.3). See 5.2.1.1.2.3 for examples.

5.2.1.1.2.1.3. Auxiliary Verbs of Group III

Any auxiliary verb of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form III, i.e., *-ge* (cf. 4.3.5.3).

1. 하 *ha-* 2. 만들 *mandil-* 3. 되 *dwe-*

All auxiliary verbs of group III are processive and may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of both processive and descriptive type. A verbal head whose satellite consists of, or ends in, one of the auxiliary verbs of group III is itself a processive type and may be followed by any other auxiliary verb. See 5.2.1.1.2.3 for examples.

5.2.1.1.2.1.4. Auxiliary Verbs of Group IV

Any auxiliary verb of this group requires the immediately preceding verb to be inflected in the concatenating form IV, i.e., *-ji* (cf. 4.3.5.3).

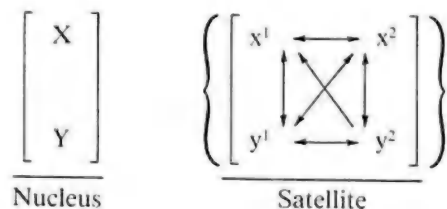
1. 아니하 *aniha-* 2. 못하 *mosha-* 3. 말 *mal-*

aniha- and *mosha-* are auxiliary verbs of both processive and descriptive type whereas *mal-* is a processive type. Accordingly *aniha-* and *mosha-* may follow a nucleus, or a nucleus plus a satellite, of both processive and descriptive type, whereas *mal-* follows only that of processive type. A verbal head whose satellite consists of, or ends in, *aniha-* or *mosha-* is either a processive or a descriptive type, depending on whether the preceding verb(s) is processive or descriptive. If it is processive, the entire verbal head is also processive and may be followed by any other auxiliary verb, but if it is descriptive, the entire verbal head is also descriptive and may be followed by a descriptive auxiliary verb, but not by a processive auxiliary verb unless it is first transformed into a processive type by taking a processive formative such as *ji-*, *ha-*, *mandil-*, and *dwe-* (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.1.2.1.3). See 5.2.1.1.2.3 for examples.

5.2.1.1.2.2. Rules on the Distribution of Auxiliary Verbs with other Verbs within Verbal Head

The classification of auxiliary verbs into the four different groups on the basis of the morphological restrictions imposed by the auxiliary verbs on the immediately preceding verb (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1) shows in which of the four concatenating forms a verb, full or auxiliary, must appear when followed by an auxiliary verb. However, it does not specify in detail what type of verb may precede or follow a particular auxiliary verb, which, as auxiliary verbs are not concatenated in a disorderly manner, is vitally important for the correct understanding and generation of verbal heads, especially of long and com-

plex type. It is the distinction of verbs, whether full or auxiliary, into the processive and descriptive types that is directly relevant to the manner in which auxiliary verbs combine with one another and with full verbs in the nucleus. The statements on the distribution of auxiliary verbs with other verbs in the verbal head structure, as conditioned by the criterion of the processive/descriptive distinction of verbs, have already been made at relevant places in the sections dealing with the four groups of auxiliary verbs (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.1). They may be brought together here and collapsed into a single rule as follows:



The abbreviations used in the rule above are:

X = Processive full verb(s)

x = Processive auxiliary verb

Y = Descriptive full verb(s)

y = Descriptive auxiliary verb

(The superscripts 1 and 2 are used for reference.)

The above rule is to be read from left to right as follows: The nucleus X or Y may be followed by x^1 or y^1 in the satellite, either of which may in its turn be followed by x^2 or y^2 , or y^1 or x^1 respectively. x^1 , y^1 , x^2 and y^2 in the satellite structure are free to combine in any order and in any direction, i.e., vertically, horizontally or diagonally, as indicated by the arrows, e.g.

x^1y^1 , x^1y^2 , x^1x^2 , y^1x^1 , y^1x^2 , y^1y^2 , $x^1y^1x^2y^2x^1x^2$, $y^1x^1y^2x^2$.

Thus the following sequences are possible:

(a) $X x^1y^1$: 먹게 하고 싶어 *magke hago sibia* 'I want to make him eat.'

(b) $X y^1x^1$: 먹고 싶어 한다 *magko sipa handa* '[She] would like to eat.'

(c) $X x^1x^2y^1$: 먹지 못하게 하고 싶어 *magci motage hago sibia*
'I want him not to eat.'

(d) $Y x^1y^1$: 맑아지고 있다 *malga jigo idia* '[It] is getting clear.'

(e) $Y y^1x^1$: 맑지 않게 되었다 *magci anke dweadia*
'[It] has not become clear.'

(f) $Y y^1x^2y^2x^1$: 맑지 않게 만들고 싶어 한다
magci anke mandilgo sipa handa
'[He] would like to make it not clear.' etc.

The satellite structure, which is optional, is open-ended and therefore the x/y expansion may be repeated theoretically any number of times, although in practice it rarely repeats itself more than five times in all. In the application of the above rules the following restrictions must be observed:

(i) $\begin{Bmatrix} Y \\ y \end{Bmatrix} x \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} Y \\ y \end{Bmatrix} p$

(ii) $p \longrightarrow ji-, ha-, dwe-, \text{etc.}, \text{Processive fmv.}, \text{e.g.}$

$X y^1x^3 \rightarrow X y^1p$

$Y x^1 \rightarrow Y p$

The restrictions (i) and (ii) are to be read: 'if a descriptive full or auxiliary verb is followed by a processive auxiliary verb, the latter must be one of the processive verb formatives, *ji-*, *ha-*, *dwe-*, etc.'

(iii) $\begin{Bmatrix} Y \\ y \end{Bmatrix} y^1y^2y^3 \dots \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} Y \\ y \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} masha- \\ aniha- \end{Bmatrix} aniha- aniha- \dots$

This restriction is to be read: 'if a descriptive full or auxiliary verb is followed by one or more descriptive auxiliary verb(s), y^1 may be represented by *mosha-* or *aniha-* unless y^1 is preceded by *sip-* 'to want to' when *mosha-* does not occur, and $y^2y^3 \dots$ by *aniha-* ...'

Examples

$Y y^1y^2$: 밝지 못하지 않다 *bagci motaji anta*
lit. [It] is not not bright' (It is bright.)

$X y^1y^2y^3$: 먹고 싶지 않지 않다 *mogko sibci anci anta*
lit. 'I do not not want to eat' (I want to eat.)

The application of the rule given earlier in conjunction with the restrictions on the choice of an appropriate concatenating form and any limitations which will be mentioned in the exemplification of each auxiliary verb in the following section will generate correct verbal heads, subject only to collocational restrictions.

5.2.1.1.2.3. Exemplification of Verbal Head

Examples of verbal heads will be divided into two types, (i) those with simple satellite and (ii) those with compound satellite. Simple satellite consists of one auxiliary verb, and compound satellite of more than one.

5.2.1.1.2.3.1. Verbal Heads with Simple Satellite

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.1. With the Group I Auxiliary Verbs

1. 보
- bo-*
- V.p.aux. 'to try [doing] [to see how it is]'

ilga boadŭa '[He] has read/tried reading [it].'

X x

nuŭ ilga bogedŭa '[I] will try and read [it] lying.'

X x

2. 주
- ju-*
- V.p.aux. 'to do something for someone as a favour'

jiba julka '[Shall] [I] pick [it] up for you?'

X x

3. 드리
- dili-*
- V.p.hon.aux. 'to do something for someone as a favour'

cegil caji diligešimmida 'I will find the book for you [sir].'

X x

4. 대
- de-*
- V.p.aux., repetition, continuation

The collocability of this auxiliary verb is very limited compared with *šah-*, which may collocate with almost any verb. Verbs which collocate with *de-* are: 먹 *mag-* 'to eat', 울 *ul-* 'to cry', 놀리 *nolli-* 'to tease', 까불 *kabul-* 'to behave flippantly', 불 *bul-* 'to blow', etc.

gugšulil maga denda '[He] is eating noodles again.'

X x

nollja denni 'Did you tease him too much?'

X x

5. 쌓
- šah-*
- V.p.aux., repetition, continuation

we usa šanni 'Why do you keep on laughing?'

X x

alil salma maga šadŭa

X x

[We] boiled eggs and ate them without end.'

6. 버리
- bali-*
- V.p.aux. 'to do something completely, or thoroughly'

ja baliadŭa '[He] went to bed straight away.'

X x

nulla baliadŭi 'You pressed it completely, didn't you?'

7. 지
- ji-*
- V.p.aux.

- (a) passive voice formative when preceded by a V.tr.

sajini čiga jinda 'The picture is [being] taken.'

X x

jalla jjadŭa '[It] is broken/cut.'

X x

- (b) unintentional, or independent of the will of the subject, when preceded by V.intr.

anja jini 'Can you sit?'

X x

(lit. 'Do you find yourself sitting [even if you don't intend to]?')

jal ga jinda

X x

[I] find [myself] going well [even if I don't try to].'

- (c) processive verb formative when preceded by a V.d., plus the meaning 'progression' or 'to become'

koci bulga jgedŭa

Y x

'The flower is likely to become red.'

aju aduŭa jimnika 'Is it getting very dark?'

Y x

8. 가
- ga-*
- V.p.aux., progression [towards a goal] from present to future or away from the speaker or near-completion

ajalšiga nilga ganda 'My uncle is getting old.'

X x

busane docakaja ganda

X x

[We] are getting near Pusan.'

9. 오
- o-*
- V.p.aux., progression [towards a goal] from past to present or towards the speaker

noinin itillonan gidolil he wadŭa

X x

'The old man has prayed for the past two days.'

ilil gaci hajŭa wadŭa 'We have worked together.'

X x

10. 놓
- noh-*
- V.p.aux., completion, retention

This auxiliary verb is usually preceded by V.tr. only, e.g.

gogilil jalla noašimmnika

X x

'Have you cut the meat up [and left it in the cut-up state]?'

usan ala noala 'Find about it first of all.'

X x

11. 나 *na-* V.p.aux., progression, completion

This is found with a limited number of V.intr. such as 피 *pi-* 'to blossom',
 솟 *sos-* 'to rise or soar', 자라 *jala-* 'to grow', 살 *sal-* 'to leave', etc., e.g.

해가 솟아 난다 *hega sosa nanda* 'The sun is rising/coming out.'

X x

아이가 자라 났다 *aiga jala nadia* 'The child has grown up.'

X x

12. 내 *ne-* V.p.aux., progression, completion

This is found with a limited number of V.tr. such as 견디 *gjandi-* 'to endure',
 하 *ha-* 'to do', 이기 *igi-* 'to win', 짓 *jis-* 'to devise, compose or make', etc., e.g.

견디 내겠다 *gjandja negedia* '[I] can stand [it] [and will be all right].'

X x

아이가 숙제를 해 낸다 *aiga sugcelil he nenda*

X x

'The boy is doing his home work [and he can finish it alone].'

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.2. With the Group II Auxiliary Verbs

1. 있 *is-* V.d.aux., progressive tense formative

집을 짓고 있다 *jibil jidko idia* '[They] are building a house.'

X y

눈이 오고 있었다 *nu:ni ogo isadia*

X y

'It was snowing' (lit. 'The snow was coming.').

2. 싶 *sip-* V.d.aux. 'to want to, to wish to'

넘어 가고 싶소 *nama gago sibso*

X y

'Do you want to go over the mountain?'

어머니는 돈을 보내고 싶었다 *amaninin do:nil bonego sipadia*

X y

'[His] mother wanted to send some money'

3. 말 *mal-* V.p.d.aux., negation

사고 말았다 *sago maladia* '[I] have bought it at last.'

X y

The object of a transitive verb followed by *sip-* may either (i) remain unchanged as it would without *sip-*, or (ii) become a complement by means of the replacement of the object particle *lil/il* by the complement particle *ga/i*. Thus the sequence V.tr. + *sip-* may exhibit two different syntactic patterns:

(i) O + V.tr. + *sip-*

(ii) C + V.tr. + *sip-*

V.tr. + *sip-* in (i) is syntactically equivalent to a transitive verb, whereas the same verbal head in (ii) is equivalent to a descriptive verb occurring with C.

Examples

빵을 먹고 싶다 *paŋil maŋko sibia* 'I would like to have some bread.'

O

빵이 먹고 싶다 *paŋi maŋko sibia* 'I would like to have some bread.'

C

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.3. With the Group III Auxiliary Verbs

1. 하 *ha-* V.p.aux.

(a) causative voice formative when preceded by V.p.

(b) causative voice and processive verb formative when preceded by V.d.

A verbal head that includes *ha-* in the satellite is syntactically equivalent to a transitive verb and may thus take at least one object. If the nucleus of such a verbal head is the transitive type, there may be two objects but if it is an intransitive or descriptive type, only one object may occur:

(a) When preceded by a V.p.

아이를 자게 하자 *aŋil jage haja*

O X x

'Let's make the baby sleep.' (*jage* 'to sleep' V.intr.)

말을 풀을 먹게 합시다 *malil pulil maŋke habšida*

O O X x

'Let's make the horse eat grass.' (*maŋke* 'to eat' V.tr.)

(b) When preceded by a V.d.

소리를 적게 하였다 *solilil jaŋke hajadia*

O Y x

'[He] turned the volume down' (lit. 'made the sound small').

책상을 높게 하니 *cegšaŋil nobke hani*

O Y x

'Are you making the table [to be] high?'

2. 만들 *mandil-* V.p.aux.

This auxiliary verb is identical to *ha-* in every respect except that it is more emphatic than the latter.

(a) When preceded by a V.p.

차를 가게 만들었니 *calil gage mandilanni*

O X x

'Did you make the car go?'

누가 너를 돈을 벌게 만들었니

nuga nalil donil ba:lge mandilanni 'Who has made you earn money?'

O O X x

(b) When preceded by a V.d.

불을 밝게 만들어라 *bulil balke mandilala* 'Make the light brighter.'

O Y x

구두를 검게 만들어도 *gudulil gamke mandilado*

O Y x

'Even if you make your shoes dark.'

3. 되 *dwe-* V.p.aux.

(a) 'independent of the will or intention on the part of the subject' when preceded by V.p.

집에 오게 되었다 *jibe oge dweadia*

X x

'[I] happened to come home [although I did not intend to].'

할아버지가 보시게 되었읍니다 *halabajiga bosige dweashinnida*

X x

'It so happened that [my] grandfather saw it.'

(b) 'processive verb formative' with the meaning 'to become' when preceded by V.d.

그이가 높게 될까 *giiga nobke dwelka* 'Will he become important?'

Y x

하늘이 맑게 되었지 *hanili malke dweadci*

Y x

'The sky has become clear, has it not?'

5.2.1.1.2.3.1.4. With the Group IV Auxiliary Verbs

1. 아니하 *aniha-* V.p./d.aux. — negation

2. 못하 *mosha-* V.p./d.aux. 'to be unable to'

3. 말 *mal-* V.p.aux. — negation

Of the three auxiliary verbs listed above, *aniha-* and *mosha-* are in complementary distribution with *mal-* in relation to the types of sentence; that is, *aniha-* and *mosha-* occur in declarative and interrogative sentences only, whereas *mal-* occurs in imperative and propositive sentences only. As an

exception to the complementary distribution mentioned above, *mal-* may also occur in interrogative sentences if the subject noun is expressed by a first person pronoun.

1. 아니하 *aniha-*

이 아이는 아직 걷지 아니한다 *iainin ajig gadci anihanda*

X x

'This child does not walk yet.'

총을 쏘지 아니했다 *conjl šoji anihedia* '[He] did not fire the gun.'

X x

학교가 멀지 않니 *hakjoga malji anni* 'Isn't the school far?'

Y y

2. 못하 *mosha-*

놀라서 듣지 못하였다 *nollasa didci motajadia*

X x

'Frightened, [she] could not hear.'

극장에 가지 못한다 *gigcane gaji motanda*

X x

'[She] cannot go to the theatre.'

오늘 날이 좋지 못하다 *onil nali joci motada*

Y y

'It is not clear today [regrettably].'

A slight semantic difference is observed between *aniha-* and *mosha-*, both of which are used to form negative constructions. *aniha-* expresses 'simple negation' while *mosha-* expresses (i) 'inability or incapability' on the part of the subject if the subject is represented by an animate noun, especially a personal noun or nouns, (ii) 'regret' on the part of the speaker for something being unfavourable otherwise.

3. 말 *mal-*

술을 사오지 마세요 *sulil saoji masejo*

X x

'Please do not buy wine and bring it with you.'

내일 떠나지 마시다 *neil lanaji mabsida* 'Let us not leave tomorrow.'

X x

나는 가지 말까 *namin gaji malka* 'Shall I not go?'

X x

5.2.1.1.2.3.2. Verbal Heads with Compound Satellite

Following the illustration of verbal heads with simple satellite (cf. 5.2.1.1.2.3.1), illustrative examples of those with compound satellite are given below under

two separate headings, X and Y, the former representing the nucleus of progressive type and the latter that of descriptive type.

5.2.1.1.2.3.2.1. X Type

(i) Verbal Heads with Two Auxiliary Verbs

- X x x 먹어 보게 하신다
maŋa boge hasinda '[He] allows me to try and eat [it].'
 X x x
 읽어 주어 쌓는다
ilga jul ʃanninda '[She] is reading [it] again and again [for you].'
 X x x
- X x y 입어 보고 싶다
iba bogo sibla '[I] would like to try and wear [it].'
 X x y
 그림이 그려 지고 있다
gilimi gilja jigo idia 'The picture is being drawn.'
 X x y
- X y y 앉고 있지 않다
anko idci anta '[She] is not sitting.'
 X y y
 눕고 싶지 않다
nubko sibci anta '[He] does not want to lie down.'
 X y y
- X y x 가고 싶게 하였다
gago sibke hajadia '[I] had him want to go.'
 X y x
 졸고 있게 만들었다
jolgo idke mandiladia '[He] made him drowsy.'
 X y x

(ii) Verbal Heads with Three Auxiliary Verbs

- X x x x 울게 만들어 놓아 봐
ulge mandila noa bwa
 X x x x
 'Try and make her cry [and leave her crying].'
- X x x y 그려 저 가고 있다
gilja jja gago idia
 X x x y
 '[The] picture is nearly finished' (lit. 'is being drawn' [and] almost done).
- X x y x 잘라 버리고 싶어 한다
jalla blligo sipa handa '[She] would like to cut it off.'
 X x y x

- X x y y 까불어 대고 있지 않았지
kabula dego idci anadci
 X x y y
 '[You] were not behaving flippantly, [were you?].'
- X y x x 놀고 싶어 하게 되었다
nolgo sipa hage dweadia '[He] has come to like playing.'
 X y x x
- X y x y 듣고 싶어 하고 있었다
didko sipa hago isadia
 X y x y
 '[She] wanted to hear it' (lit. 'was wishing to hear').
- X y y x 졸고 있지 않게 되었지
jolgo idci anke dweadci '[He] has managed not to be drowsy.'
 X y y x
- X y y y 만지고 있고 싶지 않다
manjigo idko sibci anta '[I] do not want to keep on touching [it].'
 X y y y

(iii) Verbal Heads with Four Auxiliary Verbs

- X x x x x 울어 대지 않게 하여 보아라
ula deji anke haja boala 'Try to stop her crying on and on.'
 X x x x x
 (lit. 'try making her not to go on crying').
- X x y x x 부셔 대고 싶어 하지 말게
busja dego sipa haji malge
 X x y x x
 'Stop wishing to destroy [it] completely.'
- X x x y x 견뎌 나게 되고 싶어 한다
gjandja nage dwego sipa handa
 X x x y x
 '[He] would like to find himself standing it [somehow].'
- X y y y y 누어 있고 싶지 않지 않았다
nula idko sibci anci anadia '[He] did not dislike to be lying down.'
 X y y y y

(iv) Verbal Heads with Five Auxiliary Verbs

- X x x x x x 웃어 넘겨 버려 지지 않게 하여 주어라
usanamgja balja jiji anke haja jula
 X x x x x x
 'Do not allow [it] to be laughed away [for her sake].'
- X x x x y x 잡혀 가지 않게 해 주고 싶어 한다
japjagaji anke he jugo sipa handa
 X x x x y x
 '[She] wants to make him not to be arrested and taken away [for his sake].'

X x y x x x 이겨 내고 싶어 하지 않게 만들었다
igja nego sipa haji anke mandiladja
 X x y x x x
 '[They] made [her] not to want to overcome [pains].'

5.2.1.1.2.3.2.2. Y Type

(i) Verbal Heads with Two Auxiliary Verbs

Y x x 맑아 저 버리었다
malga jja baliadja '[It] has become completely clear.'
 Y x x
 젊게 되어 볼까
jamke dwea bolka 'Shall I try to become young?'
 Y x x
 붉게 하고 싶니
bulke hago simni 'Do you want to make it red?'
 Y x y
 크게 만들고 있다
kige mandilgo idia 'They are making it big.'
 Y y x
 길지 않게 되었다
gilji anke dweadja '[It] somehow became not long.'
 Y y x
 높지 못하게 하여라
nobci motage hajala 'Don't let it get high.'
 Y y y
 크지 않지(는) 않다
kiji anci(nin) anta
 Y y Pcl. y
 'It is somewhat big' (lit. 'It is not not big').

(ii) Verbal Heads with Three Auxiliary Verbs

Y x x x 밝아 지게 해 보자
balga jige he boja 'Let us try to make it bright.'
 Y x x x
 맞게 하여 주고 있다
madke hajja jugo idia '[He] is making [it] fit her.'
 Y x x x y
 유명하게 되고 싶어 하니
jumanghage dwego sipa hani
 Y x x y x
 'Do you want to become famous.'

Y x y y 어려 지고 싶지 않았다
alja jigo sibci anadja
 Y x y y
 '[She] did not wish to become young.'
 Y y x x 좁지 않게 만들어 놓아라
jobci anke mandila noala
 Y y x x
 'Don't make it narrow' (lit. 'Make it not to be narrow').
 Y y x y 아프지 않게 되고 싶다
apiji anke dwego sibja
 Y y x y
 'I don't wish to be ill' (lit. 'I wish to become not ill').
 Y y y x 높지 않지(는) 않게 되었다
nobci anci(nin) anke dweadja
 Y y Pcl. y x
 'It has become somewhat high'
 (lit. 'It has become not not high').
 Y y y y 쓰지 않지 않지 않다
siji anci anci anta
 Y y y y
 'It is not all that bitter (after all).
 (lit. It is not not not bitter.)

(iii) Verbal Heads with Four Auxiliary Verbs

Y x x x x 슬퍼 지게 하여 주지 말자
silpa jige hajja juji malja 'Let us not make her sad.'
 Y x x x x
 Y x x x y 늦어 지지 않게 하고 싶다
nijja jiji anke hago sibja
 Y x x x y
 'I would like to make [her] not to be late.'
 Y x x y x 짧아 지게 하고 싶어 하였다
calba jige hago sipa hajadja
 Y x x y x
 '[She] wanted it to become short.'
 Y y x x x 가렵지 않게 해 주어 볼까
galjabci anke he jul bolka
 Y y x x x
 'Shall I try to make you not to feel itchy?'
 Y y x y x 불편하지 않게 되고 싶어하지
bulpjinhaji anke dwego sipa haji
 Y y x x x
 '[She] wishes to become not uncomfortable.'

Y y x x y 얇지 않게 만들어 놓고 있었다
jalči anke mandilΛ noko iśΛdīa
 Y y x x y
 '[She] was making it not thin.'

(iv) *Verbal Heads with Five Auxiliary Verbs*

Y x x x x 행복하게 되어 가게 하여 주게 되었다
heŋbokage dweΛ gage hajΛ juge dweΛdīa
 Y x x x x x
 'I have managed to make [him] happy (for them).'

Y x y x y y 높게 되고 싶어 하고 있지 않다
nobke dwego sipΛ hago idči anta
 Y x y x y y
 '[He] is not hoping to become important.'

Y y x x y x 검지 않게 해 놓고 싶어 졌다
gamči anke he noko sipΛ jīΛdīa
 Y y x x y x
 'I find [myself] wishing to make [it] not to be black [and keep it that way].'

Y y x x y 아프지 않게 해 놓아 주고 싶었다
apiji anke he noa jugo sipΛdīa
 Y y x x x y
 '[The doctor] wanted to make [her] not to be ill [to remain like that] for her.'

5.2.1.2. *Expansion of Verbal Phrase*

The expansion of a verbal phrase may consist of (i) a processive adverb, (ii) a descriptive adverb, (iii) a processive-descriptive adverb (cf. 3.4.4.1-3), (iv) a nominal phrase which has as its head the post modifier *mankim/manci* 'as ~ as' or 'to the degree that' (cf. 3.4.2.2.2), or (v) a relational phrase which consists of the noun *jangdo* 'degree, extent' and the particle *lo* 'to, towards, as, with, by' (cf. 3.4.5.4.1), or (vi) an adverbial phrase (cf. 5.2.1.2.6).

5.2.1.2.1. *Processive Adverb as Verbal Expansion*

A processive adverb occurs with a verbal head which is of processive type or whose nucleus is of processive type, e.g.

물이 빨리 흐려 졌다 *muli palli hiljΛ jīΛdīa*
 V.d. V.p.aux.
 V.H.p.
 'Water has become impure [very] quickly.'

소리를 점점 적게 해라 *solilil jamjam jagke hela*
 V.d. V.p.aux.
 V.H.p.
 'Make the sound [become] small(er) gradually.'

잘 잔다 *jal janda* '[He] sleeps well.'
 V.p.

바람이 술술 불어 왔다 *balami solsol bulΛ wadīa*
 V.H.p.
 'The wind blew gently.'

천천히 하고 있다 *cancani hago idīa*
 V.p. V.d.aux.
 '[They] are doing it slowly.'

5.2.1.2.2. *Descriptive Adverb as Verbal Expansion*

A descriptive adverb occurs with a verbal head whose nucleus is descriptive type or ends with the verb *boi-* 'to be seen, to seem' (cf. 5.2.1.1.1), e.g.

매우 좋지 않았다 *meu joci anadīa* '[It] was not very good.'
 V.d.

방이 대단히 좁아 졌다 *bangi dedanhi joba jīΛdīa*
 V.d.
 'The room has become very small.'

꽤 늙어 보인다 *pag nilga boinda* '[She] looks very old.'
 V.p.

가장 키 보였습니다 *gajag ka bojašimmida* '[He] looked the tallest.'
 V.d.

5.2.1.2.3. *Processive-Descriptive Adverb as Verbal Expansion*

A processive-descriptive adverb may occur with any type of verbal head, processive or descriptive, e.g.

너무 자지 마라 *namu jaji mala* 'Do not sleep too much.'
 V.p.

너무 좋게 만들었다 *namu joke mandilΛdīa* '[She] made it too good.'
 V.d. V.p.aux.

상당히 쉽다 *sangdaŋhi swibči* 'It is very easy.'
 V.d.

상당히 마시고 오겠지 *sangdaŋhi masigo ogedči*
 V.p.
 'He will come very drunk.'

5.2.1.2.4. *Nominal Phrase as Verbal Expansion*

A nominal phrase of the structure Adj./adj.cl. + *mankim/manci* may occur

before a nucleus of descriptive type and, less frequently, before one of processive type, e.g.

이만큼 밝게 하자 imankim balke haja
V.d.

'Let's make [it] as bright as this.'

놀랄 만큼 커졌다 nollal mankim ka jjadia
V.d.

'[It] has become as big as to surprise [me].'

눈이 부을 만치 잤다 nuni buil manci jadia
V.p.

'[He] has slept [so long] that his eyes are swollen.'

5.2.1.2.5. Relational Phrase as Verbal Expansion

A relational phrase of the structure Adj./adj.cl. + *jan-do* + *lo*, may occur before a nucleus of descriptive type and, less frequently, before one of processive type, e.g.

그 정도로 비싸게 하여도 gi-jan-dolo bisage hajado
V.d.

'Even if [you] make [it] that expensive.'

병원에 갈 정도로 아프게 되었다
bjan-wane gal-jan-dolo apige dweadia
V.d.

'[She] became so ill that she went to a hospital'
(lit. 'to the extent that she went to a hospital').

놀랄 정도로 먹는다 nollal jan-dolo maninda
V.p.

'[He] eats so much as to surprise me.'

5.2.1.2.6. Adverbial Phrase as Verbal Expansion

The adverbial phrase, which is an endocentric construction consisting of a processive adverb as its head and (i) a descriptive adverb, (ii) a processive-descriptive adverb, (iii) a nominal phrase (cf. 5.2.1.2.4), or (iv) a relational phrase (cf. 5.2.1.2.5) as its subordinate, may occur before a nucleus of processive type, e.g.

매우 잘 한다 meu jal handa 'He does it very well.' (*meu* 'very' Adv.d.)
sub. H V.p.
adv.ph.

상당히 천천히 오고 있다 sangdanhi cencanhi ogo idia
sub. H V.p.
adv.ph.

'[They] are coming quite slowly.'

(*sangdanhi* 'quite, considerably' Adv.p.d.)

이만큼 깨끗이 쓰게 되었다 imankim kekisi sige dweadia
sub. H V.p.
adv.ph.

'[You] have become so able as to write as clearly as this now.'

(*imankim* 'this much' NP)

우스울 정도로 빨리 지어 버리었다 usiul jan-dolo palli jia baliadia
sub. H V.p.
adv.ph.

'[They] built [it] ridiculously fast.'

(*usiul jan-dolo* 'as to be laughable' rel.ph.)

5.3. RELATIONAL PHRASE

The relational phrase is an exocentric construction consisting of two immediate constituents, 'Axis' and 'Relatum' occurring in that order. An 'Exocentric Construction' is a construction which does not share the same distribution as any of its constituents; e.g., an English prepositional phrase such as 'in the house', which can occur in the sentence 'He is in the house', but where none of the words making up the phrase can alone replace the phrase in the same sentence. The axis is most commonly filled by a noun or a nominal phrase, but in some relational phrases it may also be filled by other relational phrases or a clause. The relatum is filled by a particle, e.g.

밤 까지 bam kaji 'till evening'
axis relatum
여기로 jagi lo 'to this place'
axis relatum

Two types of relational phrase are distinguished on the basis of their syntactic functions, 'Adverbial Relational Phrase' and 'Adjectival Relational Phrase'.

5.3.1. Adverbial Relational Phrase

The adverbial relational phrase has as its relatum (i) a directive particle, (ii) a quotative particle or (iii) a clausal conjunctive particle (cf. 3.4.5.4.1, 3.4.5.4.2, 3.4.5.6.2). All adverbial relational phrases may occur either alone as minor sentences or more commonly as adjuncts in the clause structure. Some adverbial relational phrases may be followed by a modifying particle (cf. 3.4.5.9).

(i) Directive Particle as Relatum

집에 있다 *jibe idia* '[She] is at home.'

밖으로 가자 *bakilo gaja* 'Let's go out.' (lit. 'to out')

나무로 만들었다 *namulo mandiladia* '[They] made it with wood.'

런던서만 볼 수 있다 *landansa man bolsu idia*
Pcl.

'One can see it only in London.'

극장에도 가니 *gicgaje do gani* 'Do you go to the theatre too?'

Pcl.

mdf.

(ii) Quotative Particle as Relatum

그도 시골에 오겠다고 한다
gido sigole ogediango handa

'He says that he will come to the country side too.'

이것을 은이라고 부른다

igasil inilago bulinda 'We call it silver.'

(iii) Clausal Conjunctive Particle as Relatum

그책을 보았다만 다시 보고 싶다
gicg'il boadlaman dasi bogo sibia

'I saw/read the book but I would like to read it again.'

너도 알다싶이 시간이 없다

nado aldasipi sigani a:b'ia 'As you know, there is no time.'

5.3.2. Adjectival Relational Phrase

The adjectival relational phrase has as its relatum the adjectival particle *ii* 'of' (cf. 3.4.5.8), and is syntactically identical to an adjective, i.e., occurs as subordinate to a succeeding noun or NP. The axis of the adjectival relational phrase may be filled by either a noun, a nominal phrase or an adverbial relational phrase, e.g.

(i) N or NP as Axis

나의 차 *naii ca* 'my car' (lit. 'I of car')

N

영국의 공원 *j'angugii gonwan* 'parks of England'

N

젊은 날의 꿈 *j'almin naii kum*

NP

'young day's dream' (lit. 'the dream of the days when we were young')

(ii) Adverbial Relational Phrase as Axis

The adjectival relational phrase which has as its axis an adverbial relational phrase ends in two particles since the axis itself ends in a particle.

서울에서의 소식 *saullesa ii sosig* 'the news [of] from Seoul'

adv.rel.

adj.rel.

친구에게서의 편지 *cinguegesa ii pjanji* 'a letter [of] from a friend'

adv.rel.

adj.rel.

어머니에게의 감사 *amaniege ii gamsa* 'thanks [of] to mother'

adv.rel.

adj.rel.

자식으로서의 도리 *jasigilo ii doli* 'duty [of] as a son'

adv.rel.

adj.rel.

교장과의 긴 대화 *g'ojangwa ii gin dehwa*

adv.rel.

adj.rel.

'a long talk (of) with the principal'

VI CLAUSE

The clause may be defined as an endocentric construction which consists of a predicate as its head and one or more other elements preceding the head as its expansion. The predicate, which is the only obligatory element within the clause structure, consists of a full verb or a verbal phrase inflected with a final or non-final inflectional ending (cf. 4.3.5). As a predicate may be expressed by a single verb, the minimal form of a clause in Korean is a single verb, except where the verb is the copula *i-* 'to be' (cf. 3.4.1.1.1), which is always found preceded by N or NP, e.g.

(i) *Predicate as Clause*

온다 *onda* '[Someone] comes.'

좋습니다 *jošimnida* '[It] is nice.'

자고 싶어합니다 *jago sipa hamnida* '[He] wants to sleep.'

(ii) *N/NP + Copula Verb i- as Clause*

연필이다 *janpilida* '[This] is a pencil.'

빨간 꽃이다 *palgan koc ida* '[It] is a red flower.'

NP

(iii) *Expansion + Predicate (Head) as Clause*

꽃이 피었다 *koci piadida* 'The flower has blossomed.'

S P

사람이 아주 많다 *sa:lam i aju manta* 'There are many people.'

S Adv. V

P

개가 고양이를 쫓는다 *gēga gojanilil conninda*

S O P

'A dog is chasing a cat.'

나는 오늘 머리가 아프다 *nanin onil maliga apida*

S¹ A S² P

'I have headache today.'

6.1. FINAL AND NON-FINAL CLAUSE

The clause is of two major types, 'Final Clause' and 'Non-Final Clause', and

all clauses are referable to one of the two types. Every final clause has its predicate inflected with a final inflectional ending (cf. 4.3.5.1) and occurs by itself as a major sentence, whereas every non-final clause has its predicate inflected with a non-final inflectional ending (cf. 4.3.5.2) and may occur either by itself as a minor sentence or more commonly as part of a major sentence, e.g.

(i) *Final Clause*

하늘이 맑다 *hanili magda* 'The sky is clear.'

P

껌을 씹는다 *kamil šimninda* '[They] are chewing gum.'

P

교회에 가니 *g johwee gani* 'Are you going to the church?'

P

책을 봅시다 *cegil bobšida* 'Let's look at the book.'

P

(ii) *Non-Final Clause*

하늘이 맑으면 *hanili malgimjan* 'if the sky is clear'

P

껌을 씹으며 *kamil šibimja* 'while chewing gum'

P

교회에 가는 *g johwee ganin* '[He] who is going to the church'

P

책을 봄 *cegil bom* 'looking at the book'

P

6.2. ELEMENTS OF CLAUSE

The elements of the clause are (i) Predicate (P), (ii) Subject (S), (iii) Object (O), (iv) Complement (C), (v) Agent (Ag.) and (vi) Adjunct (A). Of these six elements, only P is obligatory and the rest optional.

6.2.1. Predicate

Any verb or VP which is inflected with a final or non-final inflectional ending may occur as the predicate of a clause. There are six different types of predicate distinguished according to the type of clause in which they occur; they are (i) 'Transitive Predicate', (ii) 'Intransitive Predicate', (iii) 'Descriptive Predicate', (iv) 'Equational Predicate', (v) 'Passive Predicate' and (vi) 'Causative Predicate'.

6.2.1.1. Transitive Predicate (P.tr.)

The transitive predicate consists of (a) a transitive verb (cf. 3.4.1.2) or (b) a VP of transitive type, i.e., one which includes at least one transitive verb in the nucleus but does not include the passive voice formative *ji-* (cf. 3.4.1.3.2) in the satellite. Every transitive predicate may occur with an object, e.g.

공을 찬다 *goŋil canda* '[He] kicks the ball.'
P.tr.

읽어 놓지 않았다 *ilga noci anadŭa*
P.tr.

'[He] has not read [the book for tomorrow's lesson].'

6.2.1.2. Intransitive Predicate (P.intr.)

The intransitive predicate consists of (a) a processive intransitive verb (cf. 3.4.1.2 and 3.4.1.4) or (b) a VP of intransitive type, i.e., one whose nucleus is composed of intransitive verbs only and which does not include a causative voice formative (cf. 3.4.1.3.2) such as *ha-* or *mandil-* in the satellite, e.g.

앉았다 *anjadŭa* '[She] sat down.'
P.intr.

놀고 있지 *noŋgo idŭi* '[They] are playing.'
P.intr.

누어 쉬고 있다 *nuŭa swigo idŭa* '[I] am in bed resting.'
P.intr.

6.2.1.3. Descriptive Predicate (P.d.)

A predicate which consists of (a) a descriptive verb (cf. 3.4.1.1) or (b) a VP of descriptive type, i.e., one including a descriptive verb as nucleus and one or more auxiliary verbs other than the causative voice formative as satellite, is a descriptive predicate. The descriptive predicate may occur with two subjects, e.g.

그는 마음이 좋다 *ginin maimi jota*
S S P.d.

'He is kind' (lit. 'his heart is nice').

영감이 돈이 많지 않았다 *ŋangami doni manci anadŭa*
S S P.d.

'The old man was not rich' (lit. 'The old man money was not plenty').

6.2.1.4. Equational Predicate (P.eq.)

The equational predicate consists of either the copula verb *i-* 'to be' (cf. 3.4.1.1.1) or *dwe-* 'to become' V.p., or a VP with *dwe-* as nucleus, e.g.

장미 이다 *jaŋmi ida* '[It] is a rose.'
C P.eq.

그가 사람이 되었다 *giga sa:lam i dweadŭa*
C P.eq.

'He has become a man.'

물이 어름이 되고 있다 *muli alimi dwego idŭa*
C P.eq.

'Water is becoming ice.'

6.2.1.5. Passive Predicate (P.pasv.)

The passive predicate consists of (a) a passive verb, i.e., a transitive verb including the passive voice suffix (cf. 4.3.1.1) or (b) a verbal phrase of passive type, i.e., one including at least one passive verb in the nucleus but excluding the voice formative (cf. 3.4.1.3.2 and 5.2.1.1.2.3.1.3) from the satellite, or one including a nucleus of transitive type (cf. 5.2.1.1.1) and the passive voice formative *ji-* in the satellite, e.g.

주의가 끌린다 *juŭiga killinda* '[His] attention is [being] drawn.'
P.pasv.

잡히어 묶이어 갔다 *japiŭ mukŭia gadŭa*
V.pasv. V.pasv.
P.pasv.

'[He] was caught, bound and taken away.'

나무가 잘라 진다 *namuga jalla jinda* 'The tree is being cut.'
V.tr. V.aux.
P.pasv.

6.2.1.6. Causative Predicate (P.caus.)

Every predicate which consists of (a) a causative verb, i.e., a verb including the causative voice suffix (cf. 4.3.1.2) or (b) a verbal phrase of causative type, i.e., one including a causative verb in the nucleus and/or a causative voice formative (cf. 3.4.1.3.2 and 5.2.1.1.2.3.1.3) in the satellite, is a causative predicate. A causative predicate of phrasal type which includes a causative verb in the nucleus results in double causativity (cf. 6.3.6.7), e.g.

음식을 먹이자 *imsigil magija* 'Let us feed [him].'
P.caus.

애를 놀렸다 *elil nolljadŭa* '[She] made the child play.'
P.caus.

소녀가 얼굴을 붉혔다 *sonjaga algulil bulkiadŭa*
P.caus.

'The girl blushed' (lit. 'reddened her face').

여인이 저기 천천히 간다 *jaini jagi cāncanhi ganda*

A

'A woman is going *there* slowly.'

(ii) *Interrogative Adverb as Adjunct*

왜 학교에 안가니 *we hagkjo angani* 'Why don't you go to school?'

A

어떻게 너도 빨리 해라 *alake nado palli hela*

A

'Do [it] quickly *somehow*.'

(iii) *Adverbial Relational Phrase as Adjunct*

아침에 누가 있었오 *acime nuga isaso*

'Who was [here] *in the morning*?'

내일 정거장에 가겠오 *neil janggajanje gagesso*

'I will go *to the station* tomorrow.'

(iv) *Nominal Phrase as Adjunct*

십리(를) 뛰었다 *simni(lil) iwiadla* '[He] ran *ten li*.'

A

(li = measure of length: 1/3 mile)

일주일(을) 노니 *il juil(il) noni* 'Will you have *a week* off?'

A

텔레비를 두시간(을) 보았구나 *tebibilil dusigan(il) boadkuna*

A

'You have watched the television *for two hours*.'

6.2.6.1. *Multiple Adjuncts*

The adjunct does not always occur singly. A sentence or a clause may include any two or more of the four different types of adjunct, which have been described in 6.2.6, e.g.

오늘 왜 안가니 *onil we angani* 'Why do you not go *today*?'
A A

어제 나도 어떻게 세 시간을 했다 *aje nado alake sesiganil hedia*
A A A

'*Somehow* I also did [it] *three hours* yesterday.'

6.2.7. *Interrelations among the Elements of a Clause*

The interrelations obtaining among the elements of the clause may be stated in two different ways. Firstly, using the criterion of binary opposition of obligatory/optional occurrence, the six elements are divided into the obligatory elements P and optional elements, S, O, C, Ag. and A. And this criterion

provides the basis for analysing the clause as an endocentric construction that consists of a P as head and other elements as expansion. Secondly, on the basis of the degree of cohesion with P, the five optional elements may be grouped into (i) O, C and Ag., and (ii) S and A. The cohesion between P and O/C/Ag., whose presence or absence is potentially determined by P, is greater than that between P and S/A, which may occur in any clause irrespective of the type of P found in it.

6.3. TYPES OF FINAL CLAUSE

Six different types are distinguished of clauses according to (i) the type of predicate (6.2.1) functioning in them, and (ii) other clause elements occurring with P. They are: (a) 'Transitive Clause', (b) 'Intransitive Clause', (c) 'Descriptive Clause', (d) 'Equational Clause', (e) 'Passive Clause' and (f) 'Causative Clause'.

6.3.1. *Transitive Clause*

A transitive clause includes a transitive predicate (cf. 6.2.1.1) as P and has the potentiality of having the element O in it. The elements and structure of an unmarked (non-emphatic) transitive clause are: (S) + (O) + P.

In the discussion of the six different clause types, the element A is to be understood as positionally free except where restrictions are introduced. Most transitive clauses lend themselves to passive transformation (cf. 6.3.5.1), e.g.

소년이 공을 찬다 *sonjani gonil canda* 'The boy is kicking a ball.'

S O P

개가 저기서 아이를 쫓는다 *gega jagisa ailil conninda*

S A O P

'A dog is chasing a boy *there*.'

어제 그는 정말 일을 많이했다 *aje ginin jangmal ilil mani hedia*

A S A O P

'Really he worked hard *yesterday*.'

Transitive clause structures of marked (emphatic) type, which are less frequent than the unmarked one, are (O)(S)P, P(S)(O) and P(O)(S), in each of which the first element is brought into focus, e.g.

내가 책을 읽어 볼까 *nega cegil ilga bolka*

S O P

'Shall I try and read the book?'

책을 내가 읽어 볼까 *cegil nega ilga bolka*

O S P

읽어 볼까 내가 책을 *ilga bolka nega cegil*

P S O

a nominal phrase by means of the adjectival particle *ii* 'of'.

On the other hand, no such relation holds between S and C within a descriptive clause of type II. For instance, in the following clause,

나는 개가 싫다 *nanin gega silta*
S C P

'I dislike dogs' (lit. 'I a dog am loathsome').

the subject *na* 'I' and the complement noun *ge* 'dog' cannot combine into a single nominal phrase *na*ii* ge* 'my dog' to stand ultimately as S of the same clause without destroying the original structural relation and meaning as exhibited by the clause. In transformational-generative terms, the relation between the descriptive clauses of type I and II may be viewed as a case of surface neutralization of two different deep structures, since the descriptive clause structure S + C + P of type I may be described as being derived from the kernel¹ string S + P of intransitive type (cf. 6.3.2) by 'C-inserting' transformation, and the descriptive clause structure S + C + P of type II from the kernel string S + O + P of transitive type (cf. 6.3.1) by a 'Detransitive' transformation. The distinction of descriptive clauses of type I and type II is reinforced by the fact that the subject noun of the descriptive clause type II is represented by an animate noun only, whereas that of type I may be represented by any noun, animate or inanimate.

In view of the structural as well as semantic difference between the two types of descriptive clause and in order to emphasize the difference between them, the descriptive clause of type I will henceforth be given the following structural description: (S¹) + (S²) + P where S² corresponds to C, and S¹ to S in the original S + C + P structure.

6.3.3.1. Descriptive Clause of Type I

The descriptive clause of type I has as the exponent of P any descriptive verb except the verbs listed in 6.3.3.2. Examples illustrative of the verbs occurring in the element P of the descriptive clause of type I are:

많 *manh-* 'to be many, much or plenty'
크 *ki-* 'to be big, tall, large'
길 *gi:l-* 'to be long', 아프 *api-* 'to be ill'
슬프 *silpi-* 'to be sad'
etc.

The elements and structure of the unmarked descriptive clause of type I are (S¹) + (S²) + P, e.g.

목사는 발이 몹시 아팠다 *mogsanin bali mobsi apadia*
S₁ S₂ P

'The priest's foot was aching' (lit. 'priest foot was aching').

¹ Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, p. 45.

cf. 목사(의) 발이 몹시 아팠다 *mogsan(ii) bali mobsi apadia*
S P

아버지는 키가 컸다 *abajinin kiga kadia*
S₁ S₂ P

'Father was tall' (lit. 'Father the height was tall').

cf. 아버지(의) 키가 컸다 *abaji(ii) kiga kadia*
S P

학교가 운동장이 크다 *hagkjoga undonjaji kida*
S₁ S₂ P

'The school playground is large'

(lit. 'The school the playground is large').

cf. 학교(의) 운동장이 크다 *hagkjo(ii) undonjaji kida*
S P

Less common but marked structures of the descriptive clause type I are (S¹)P(S²), P(S¹)(S²), (S²)P(S¹) and P(S²)(S¹), e.g.

여인은 손이 작았다 *jainin soni jagadia*
S₁ S₂ P

'The woman's hands were small.'

(S¹)P(S²): *jainin jagadia soni*
S₁ P S₂

P(S¹)(S²): *jagadia jainin soni*
P S₁ S₂

(S²)P(S¹): *soni jagadia jainin*
S₂ P S₁

P(S²)(S¹): *jagadia soni jainin*
P S₂ S₁

6.3.3.2. Descriptive Clause of Type II

The descriptive clause of type II has as the exponent of P a member of the small class of descriptive verbs which can be listed. The verbs given below are illustrative:

그립 *gilib-* 'to miss or long for'
싫 *silh-* 'to dislike', 무섭 *musab-* 'to be afraid of'
반갑 *bangab-* 'to be happy to [meet or hear from]'
좋 *joh-* 'to be good, fond of'
서운하 *saunha-* 'to be sorry, sad, regrettable'
아쉽 *aswib-* 'to miss [someone or something]'
슬프 *silpi-* 'to be sad over'
억울하 *agulha-* 'to be unjust, to feel robbed'
근심스럽 *ginsimsilab-* 'to be worried'
궁금하 *gungimha-* 'to be anxious, concerned'
etc.

The elements and structure of the unmarked descriptive clause of type II are (S) + (C) + P, e.g.

어머니는 딸이 그리웠다 *amaninin ìali giliwǎdia*
S C P

'The mother missed [her] daughter.'

장교는 부하의 죽음이 슬펐다 *janggjonin buhaii jugimi silpǎdia*
S C P

'The officer was sad over the death of a soldier.'

범이 얼마나 무섭니 *bami almana musǎmni*
C A P

'How much are you afraid of a tiger?'

Less frequent but marked structures of the descriptive clause of type II are (S)P(C), P(S)(C), (C)P(S) and P(C)(S), e.g.

나는 네소식이 궁금했다 *nanin nesosigi gunggimhǎdia*
S C P

'I was anxious to hear from you.'

(S)P(C) *nanin gunggimhǎdia nesosigi*
S P C

P(S)(C) *gunggimhǎdia nanin nesosigi*
P S C

(C)P(S) *nesosigi gunggimhǎdia nanin*
C P S

P(C)(S) *gunggimhǎdia nesosigi nanin*
P C S

6.3.4. Equational Clause

An equational clause includes an equational predicate (cf. 6.2.1.4) as P and the element C. The elements and structure of the unmarked equational clause are (S) + C + P. N or NP occurring in the equational clause as the element C is not followed by the complement particle *i/ga* when the element P is expressed by the copula verb *i-* 'to be', and no other element such as A may be interposed between C and P, e.g.

그는 성악가이다 *ginin sǎngagka ida* 'He is a singer.'
S C P

한국은 극동에 있는 나라이다 *hangugin giglǒnge innin nala ida*
S C P

'Korea is a Far-Eastern country'

(lit. 'Korea is a in-the-Far East-existing country').

물이 벌써 얼음이 되었구나 *muli bǎlsǎ alimi dweǎdkuna*
S A C P

'Water has become ice already.'

꿈이 현실이 되었지 *kumi hjǎ:nsili dweǎdçi*
S C P

'[Your] dream has become a reality.'

The marked structure of the equational clause is CP(S), e.g.

그이가 누구 이냐?
giiga nugu inja 'Who is he?'
S C P

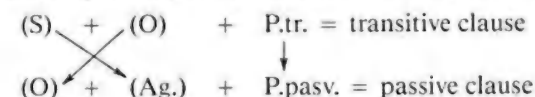
CP(S): *nugu inja giiga*
C P S

6.3.5. Passive Clause

A passive clause includes a passive predicate (cf. 6.2.1.5) as its P and may take the element Ag. There are two kinds of passive clause distinguished on the basis of the elements operating in them. They are termed 'Passive Clause Type I' and 'Passive Clause Type II'.

6.3.5.1. Passive Clause Type I

The passive clause type I, which is structurally related to and derivable, by a passive transformation (cf. the diagram below), from the underlying transitive clause of the (S) + (O) + P type, exhibits its unmarked structure as (S) + (Ag.) + P where the elements S and Ag. are transformationally related to O and S respectively of the transitive clause as diagrammatically shown below.



Examples

개가 고양이를 쫓았다 *gega gojanilil cǒcadia* 'A dog chased a cat.'
S O P.tr.

고양이가 개에게 쫓겼다 *gojaniga geege cǒdkjǎdia*
S Ag. P.pasv.

'A cat was chased by a dog.'

Examples of Passive Clause Type I

도둑이 순경한테 잡혔다 *dodugi sungjǎnhante japiǎdia*
S Ag. P

'A thief was caught by a policeman.'

오늘은 마루가 잘 닦아진다 *onilin maluga jal dǎka jinda*
A S P

'The floor cleans well today' (lit. 'the floor gets cleaned well today').

아이에게 물렸니 *aiege mulljanni* 'Have you been bitten by the baby?'
 Ag. P

Marked structures of the passive clause type I are (Ag.)(S)P, (Ag.)P(S), (S)P(Ag.), P(S)(Ag.) and P(Ag.)(S), e.g.

(S)(Ag.)P 종이가 바람에 날린다
jongiga balame nallinda 'The paper is flown by wind.'
 S Ag. P

(Ag.)(S)P balame jongiga nallinda 'By wind the paper is flown.'
 Ag. S P

(Ag.)P(S) balame nallinda jongiga 'By wind is flown the paper.'
 Ag. P S

(S)P(Ag.) jongiga nallinda balame 'The paper is flown by wind.'
 S P Ag.

P(S)(Ag.) nallinda jongiga balame 'Is flown the paper by wind.'
 P S Ag.

P(Ag.)(S) nallinda balame jongiga 'Is flown by wind the paper.'
 P Ag. S

6.3.5.2. Passive Clause Type II

The passive clause type II, which is structurally related to and transformationally derivable from the underlying transitive clause with split objects, i.e., (S) + (O¹) + (O²) + P type (cf. 6.3.1.1), exhibits its unmarked structure as (S) + (Ag.) + (C/O) + P.pasv. where the elements S and Ag. are transformationally related to O¹ and S respectively of the transitive clause, and (C/O) to O², as diagrammatically shown below:

(S) + (O¹) + (O²) + P.tr. = transitive clause
 (S) + (Ag.) + (C/O) + P.pasv. = passive clause

Examples

개가 도둑을 손을 물었다 *gega dodugil sonil muladia*
 S O₁ O₂ P.tr.

'A dog bit the thief on the hand.'

도둑이 개한테 손이 / 손을 물렸다
dodugi gehante soni/sonil mulljadia

S Ag. C/O P.pasv.

'The thief was bitten by a dog on the hand.'

Examples of Passive Clause Type II

아이가 어머니에게 팔을 잡혔다 *aiga amaniege palil japjadia*
 S Ag. O P

'The child's arm was held by his mother.'

신사가 거지에게 발이 밟혔다 *sinsaga gajiege bali balpjadia*
 S Ag. C P

'The gentleman's foot was trodden on by a beggar.'

동생이 누이에게 머리를 깎였다 *dongseoji nuiege malilil kakjadia*
 S Ag. O P

'[My] brother's hair was cut by [his] sister.'

Although the element Ag. in the passive clause is most commonly expressed by an animate noun or nominal phrase, it may also be expressed by an inanimate noun or nominal phrase unlike the transformationally related S in the underlying transitive clause, which is always expressed by an animate noun or noun phrase except in those rare instances where an inanimate noun or noun phrase may occur personified or animated. Consequently, many passive clauses with an inanimate noun or noun phrase as Ag. are not matched by corresponding transitive clauses. The following examples exemplify this point:

노동자는 칼에 발이 찔렸다 *nodonjanin kale bali cilljadia*
 S Ag. C P.pasv.

'A worker's foot is pricked by a knife.'

칼이 노동자를 발을 찔렀다 **kali nodonjalil balil cilljadia*
 S O₁ O₂ P.tr.

'A knife pricked a worker's foot.'

Marked structures of the passive clause type II are (S)(Ag.)P(C/O), (S)(C/O)P(Ag.), (Ag.)(C/O)P(S) and (C/O)(Ag.)P(S), e.g.

(S)(Ag.)P(O) 소가 송아지에게 젖을 빨린다
soga songajiege jasil pallinda
 S Ag. O P

'The cow's teat (or milk) is (being) sucked by a calf.'

(S)(Ag.)P(O) *soga songajiege pallinda jasil*
 S Ag. P O

(S)(C)P(Ag.) *soga jasi pallinda songajiege*
 S C P Ag.

(Ag.)(C)P(S) *songajiege jasi pallinda soga*
 Ag. C P S

(O)(Ag.)P(S) *jasil songajiege pallinda soga*
 O Ag. P S

6.3.6. Causative Clause

A causative clause includes a causative predicate (cf. 6.2.1.6) as its P and may include up to two objects and/or a complement and/or an agent. Any of the five types of clause so far discussed, except the equational clause with the

copula verb *i-* 'to be' as P, may be transformed into a causative clause, and the elements and structure of a causative clause are determined by the type of the underlying clause from which the former is derived. The following five types of causative clause are distinguished according to the elements operating in the causative clause structure:

- (a) (S)(O)P
- (b) (S)(O)(C)P
- (c) (S)(O¹/Ag.)(O²)P
- (d) (S)(Ag.)(O¹)(O²)P
- (e) (S)(O¹)(Ag.)(O²/C)P

Each of these five types will be discussed in turn with examples in the following sections, noting the structural relations between an underlying clause and a causative clause derived from the former.

6.3.6.1. Causative Clause of (S)(O)P

The causative clause of (S)(O)P type is derived from (a) intransitive, (b) descriptive, or (c) passive clause of (S)P type, and the structural relation holding between the underlying clause and the corresponding causative clause is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} (S) & + & P = \text{underlying clause} \\ \downarrow & & \downarrow \\ (S) & + & (O) + P_{\text{caus.}} = \text{causative clause} \end{array}$$

Examples

아버지가 아들을 오게 했다 *abaji-ga adilil oge hedia*
S O P

'The father made his son come.'

derived from the intransitive clause

아들이 왔다 *adili wadia* 'The son came.'
S P

The element S in the causative clause, such as *abaji* 'father' in the example above, is an invented element which is not expressed in any form in the corresponding non-causative clause structure, e.g.

(a) Causative Clause derived from Intransitive Clause

어머니는 딸을 앉히었다 *amaninin ilil ancidia*
S O P

'A mother made her daughter sit up.'

< 딸이 앉었다 *ilil anjadia* 'The daughter sat up.'
S P

누가 너를 놀라게 했니 *nuga nalil nollage henni*
S O P

'Who surprised you?'

< 네가 놀랐니 *nega nollanni* 'Were you surprised?'
S P

국을 식히지 마라 *gugil sikiji mala* 'Don't make the soup get cold.'
O P

< 국이 식는다 *gugi signinda* 'The soup gets cold.'
S P

(b) Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause

전공이 빛을 밝힌다 *ja:ngoji bicil balkinda*
S O P

'An electrician makes the light bright.'

< 빛이 밝다 *bici bagia* 'The light is bright.'
S P

이 통로를 좁게 만들자 *itognolil jobke mandilja*
O P

'Let's make the passage narrow.'

< 이 통로가 좁다 *itognoga jobia* 'This passage is narrow.'
S P

(c) Causative Clause derived from Passive Clause

누가 줄을 끊어지게 했다 *nuga julil kina jige hedia*
S O P

'Someone caused the string to be broken.'

< 줄이 끊어졌다 *juli kina jjadia* 'The string was broken.'
S P

사과를 잘 팔리게 해줬다 *sagwalil jal pallige he jwadia*
O P

[They] made the apples sell (lit. 'to be sold') well.'

< 사과가 잘 팔렸다 *sagwaga jal palljadia*
S P

'Apples sold well' (lit. 'were sold').

6.3.6.2. Causative Clause of (S)(O/C¹)(C)P

The causative clause of (S)(O/C¹)(C)P type is derived from an equational clause of (S)(C)P type where P has as nucleus the verb *dwe-* 'to become'. The structural relation between the underlying clause and the derived causative clause is as follows:

(S) + (C) + P.equ. = underlying clause

↓ ↓ ↓
(S) + (O/C¹) + (C) + P.caus. = causative clause

The structural relation set out in the above formula shows that the element S of the underlying clause may be transformed either into the element O or C¹, e.g.

선생은 제자를 인간이 되게 했다

sanseŋin jejalil ingani dwege hedŭa

S O C P

'The teacher made his pupil to become a man.'

< 제자가 인간이 되었다 *jejaga ingani dweadŭa*

S C P

'The pupil became a man.'

꿈이 현실이 되게 하여라 *kumi hja:nsili dwege hajala*

C₁ C P

'Make your dream a reality.'

< 꿈이 현실이 된다 *kumi hja:nsili dwenda*

S C P

'A dream becomes a reality.'

6.3.6.3. Causative Clause of (S)(O/C)(O¹/C¹)P

The causative clause of (S)(O/C)(O¹/C¹)P type is derived from (a) the descriptive clause type I of (S¹)(S²)P structure (cf. 6.3.3 and 6.3.3.1) and (b) the descriptive clause type II of (S)(C)P structure (cf. 6.3.3 and 6.3.3.2), and the structural relation between the underlying clause(s) and the derived clause is as follows:

(S¹/S) + (S²/C) + P.des. = underlying cl.

↓ ↓ ↓
(S) + (O/C) + (O¹/C¹) + P.caus. = causative cl.

Examples

(a) Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause Type I

그는 나를 / 내가 발을 / 발이 아프게 했다

ginin nalil/nega balil/bali apige hedŭa

S O / C O₁ / C₁ P

'He made my foot [to be] painful.'

< 나는 발이 아꼈다 *nanin bali apadŭa* 'My foot is painful'

S₁ S₂ P

(b) Causative Clause derived from Descriptive Clause Type II

그들은 나를 / 내가 개를 / 개가 싫게 만들었다

gidilin nalil/nega gelil/gega silke mandiladŭa

S O / C O₁ / C₁ P

'They made me dislike dogs.'

< 나는 개가 싫었다 *nanin gege siladŭa*

S C P

'I disliked dogs.'

6.3.6.4. Causative Clause of (S)(O¹/Ag.)(O²)P

The causative clause of (S)(O¹/Ag.)(O²)P type is derived from a transitive clause with a single object, i.e., (S)(O)P type, and the structural relation between them is as follows:

(S) + (O) + P.tr. = underlying cl.

↓ ↓ ↓
(S) + (O¹/Ag.) + (O²) + P.caus. = causative cl.

The above diagram shows that the element S of the underlying clause may be transformed either into the element O¹ or Ag., e.g.

아이가 개를 물을 먹인다 *aiga gelil mulil maginda*

S O₁ O₂ P

'A child makes a dog drink water.'

< 개가 물을 먹는다 *gega mulil maginda*

S O P

'A dog drinks water.'

부인은 거지에게 옷을 입게 했다 *buinin gajiege osil ibke hedŭa*

S Ag. O P

'The lady made a beggar put on clothes.'

< 거지가 옷을 입었다 *gajiga osil ibadŭa*

'A beggar put on clothes.'

6.3.6.5. Causative Clause of (S)(Ag.)(O¹)(O²)P

The causative clause of (S)(Ag.)(O¹)(O²)P type is derived from a transitive clause with split objects, i.e., (S)(O¹)(O²)P type, and their structural relation is as follows:

(S) + (O¹) + (O²) + P.tr. = underlying cl.

↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
(S) + (Ag.) + (O¹) + (O²) + P.caus. = caus.cl.

Examples

어머니가 아들에게 할머니를 다리를 주무르게 한다

amāniga adilege halmānilil dalilil jumulige handa

S Ag. O₁ O₂ P

'The mother makes her son massage his granny on the leg.'

< 아들이 할머니를 다리를 주무른다

adili halmānilil dalilil jumulinda

S O₁ O₂ P

'The son massages his granny on the leg.'

The split objects O¹ and O² in the causative clause are very often combined into a single object as in the underlying transitive clause (6.3.1.1). In such a case, the resultant clause structure will be identical to the causative clause of (S)(O¹/Ag.)(O²)P type (cf. 6.3.6.4), except that the element Ag. cannot alternate with O¹, i.e., cannot be expressed in the form of an object. Thus the example given earlier may be rewritten as follows:

어머니가 아들에게 할머니 다리를 주무르게 한다

amāniga adilege halmāni dalilil jumulige handa

S Ag. O P

'The mother makes her son massage his granny's leg.'

6.3.6.6. Causative Clause of (S)(O¹/C¹)(Ag.)(O²/C²)P

The causative clause of (S)(O¹/C¹)(Ag.)(O²/C²)P type is derived from a passive clause of (S)(Ag.)(C/O)P type (cf. 6.3.5.2), and their structural relation is as follows:

(S) + (Ag.) + (O/C) + P.pasv. = underlying cl.

(S) + (O¹/C¹) + (Ag.) + (O²/C²) + P.caus. + caus.cl.

Examples

그는 신사를 / 신사가 아이에게 발을 / 발이 밟히게 했다

ginin sinsalil/sinsaga aiege balil/bali balpige hedā

S O₁ / C₁ Ag. O₂ / C₂ P

'She made the gentleman's foot to be stepped on by a child.'

신사가 아이에게 발이 / 발을 밟혔다

sinsaga aiege bali/balil balpjādia

S Ag. C / O P

'The gentleman's foot was stepped on by a child.'

6.3.6.7. Double Causativity

Every causative clause so far discussed has been described as being derived from one or the other of the five different types of non-causative underlying

clauses, i.e., intransitive, descriptive, equational, transitive and passive. However, a causative clause may be derived from an underlying clause which is also causative, if the underlying causative clause includes a morphologically effected causative predicate. In other words, a double causative clause is formed by transforming a suffix-effected causative clause into a phrasal causative clause by means of the causative formative *ha-* or *mandil-* (cf. 3.4.1.3.2 and 5.2.1.1.2.3.1.3). It is to be noted that a phrasal causative clause, i.e., one including a causative formative, can never occur as an underlying clause for double causative formation, e.g.

어머니는 나에게 동생을 밥을 먹이게 한다

amāninin naege dongseŋgil babil maŋige handa

S Ag. O₁ O₂ P

'My mother makes me feed my brother'

(lit. 'makes me make my brother eat his meal').

< 내가 동생을 밥을 먹인다 *nega dongseŋgil babil maŋinda*

S O₁ O₂ P

'I feed my brother' (lit. 'make my brother eat his meal').

주인은 하인에게 소를 풀을 뜯게 하였다

juinin hainege solil pulil tidke hajādia

S Ag. O₁ O₂ P

'The master asked (lit. 'made') his servant (to) graze the cow'

(lit. 'made his servant make the cow pick the grass').

< 하인이 소를 풀을 뜯기었다 *haini solil pulil tidkiādia*

S O₁ O₂ P

'The servant grazed the cow.'

6.4. TYPES OF NON-FINAL CLAUSE

Apart from the final/non-final difference in the predicate form, final and non-final clauses are identical in respect of elements and structure, except for the positional restriction on the element P within the non-final clause structure (see 6.4.1). Thus the clause elements, S, O, C, Ag., A and P are found to operate in the non-final clause in much the same way as they do in the final clause. Accordingly, the six different clause types, i.e., transitive, intransitive, descriptive, equational, passive and causative clauses, set up on the basis of the type of predicate, can all be distinguished in non-final clauses.

Unlike the final clause, however, the non-final clause has three important syntactical functions; thus some non-final clauses are syntactically similar to a noun, some to an adjective, and some to an adverb. In other words, the non-final clause is a rank-shifted clause, downgraded from the clause level to the word level. By this syntactic criterion, all non-final clauses, irrespective of their internal structure and to which of the six different types of clause they belong, are classified into three syntactic classes: (i) 'Nominal Clause', (ii) 'Adjectival Clause' and (iii) 'Adverbial Clause'.

6.4.1. Internal Structure of Non-Final Clause

The internal structure of the non-final clause is identical in every respect to that of the corresponding final clause, with one notable exception. That is, the element P occupies the final position in every non-final clause structure and no other elements, singly or in any combination, can ever follow P, whereas this (post-P occurrence of non-P elements) is possible in the final clause structure. Because of this positional restriction on the element P, the non-final clauses are naturally outnumbered by the final clauses in variety of internal structure. For instance, a final clause like

개가 닭을 본다 *gega dagil bonda* 'A dog looks at a hen.'
 S O P

may be internally restructured as

(a) *gega bonda dagil*
 S P O

(b) *dagil bonda geга*
 O P S

(c) *bonda dagil geга*
 P O S etc.

where P is followed by O, S or by both. On the other hand, a non-final clause like

개가 닭을 봄 *gega dagil bom* 'That a dog looks at a hen.'
 S O P

may be restructured only as

닭을 개가 봄 *dagil geга bom*
 O S P

since neither S nor O may occur after P.

6.4.2. Nominal Clause

The nominal clause is a non-final clause of which the element P is suffixed with one of the nominal clause endings, *-m/-im* and *-gi* (cf. 4.3.5.2.1), and has practically the same syntactic functions as a single noun, but the range of distribution of a nominal clause is by no means parallel with that of a single noun since not every syntactic position filled by a noun can be filled by a nominal clause. That is to say, the distributional range of a nominal clause is narrower than that of a noun. The distributional disparity between a nominal clause and a noun may be set out as follows:

(i) A nominal clause cannot be preceded by a nominal expansion (cf. 5.1.3). For instance, a noun like *namu* 'tree' can be preceded by an expansion as in

새 나무 *se name* 'a new tree'
 나의 나무 *na-i namu* 'my tree'

but a nominal clause like

학교에 감 *hakgyo-e gam* 'going to school'

cannot be preceded by an expansion:

이 학교에 감 **i hakgyo-e gam* 'this going-to-school'
 나의 학교에 감 **na-i hakgyo-e gam* 'my going-to-school'.

(ii) A nominal clause is never followed immediately by the adjectival particle *ii* 'of', whereas a noun may be followed by *ii*, forming with it an adjectival relational phrase (cf. 5.3.2).

인생의 기쁨 *inseŋ ii gipim* 'the joy of life'
 N

adj.rel.ph.

but 밥을 먹음의 기쁨 **babil magim ii gipim* 'the joy of eating dinner'
 n.cl.

연구의 결과 *ja:ngu ii gjalgwa* 'the results of research'
 N

adj.rel.ph.

but 쫓기기의 결과 **codkigi ii gjalgwa* 'the results of being chased'
 n.cl.

6.4.2.1. Syntactic Functions of Nominal Clause

Various syntactic functions performed by a nominal clause are illustrated below.

6.4.2.1.1. Nominal Clause as Minor Sentence

A nominal clause whose P is suffixed with the ending *-m/-im* occurs frequently on its own as a minor sentence in official documents, diaries and advertisements, etc.

Examples

팔월에 선거를 실시함 *palwale sang'alil silsiham*
 A O P

'the election to be held in August (lit. 'holding the election in August').'

오늘 시험을 봄 *onil sihamil bom* 'taking an exam today'
 A O P

이약은 두통에 특효임 *ijagin dutonge tikjo im*
 S A C P

'this medicine being specially good for headaches'

(b) *Adverbial Clause as Subordinate to Other Clauses*

배를 타고 여행을 했니 *belil tago jshengil henni*
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'Did you travel on board a ship?' (lit. 'Riding a ship, travelled?')

점심을 먹었더니 배가 부르다 *jamsimil magadilani bega bulida*
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'As I have had my meal, my stomach is full.'

물가가 비싸서 살기가 힘들어도 *mulkaga bisasa salgiga himdilado*
 adv.cl. nf.cl.

'Even if life is difficult, as prices are high'

(lit. as prices are high, even if life is difficult').

6.4.4.2. *Types of Adverbial Clause*

The adverbial clause in Korean, although similar to a subordinate clause in English both syntactically and semantically, differs sharply from the latter in construction. The Korean adverbial clause is formed inflectionally with an adverbial clause ending, whereas the English subordinate clause is formed with, or introduced by, a subordinate conjunction such as 'if', 'when', etc. Furthermore, in Korean, the co-ordination of a clause to another is also effected by an adverbial clause ending and not by a conjunctive word as in English. That is to say, the first of the two Korean clauses standing in co-ordinate relation (semantically) is expressed in the form of an adverbial clause, without any conjunctive word occurring between them. Thus both the co-ordination and the subordination of clauses are effected in Korean by verbal inflection, i.e., by an adverbial clause ending. In IC (Immediate Constituent) terms, a Korean adverbial clause would be analysed into two bound constituents, i.e., the adverbial clause ending which is bound on the one hand and the rest preceding the adverbial clause ending which is also bound, on the other. The following examples from Korean and English will contrast the different analysis as applying in the two languages:

(a) 날이 좋 / 으니 밖에 나가자 *nali joh-/ini, bae naga ja*
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'As it is fine, let us go out.'

(b) *As/ it is fine, let us go out.*
 sub.cl. main cl.

(c) 아이는 아침을 먹고 학교에 갔다
ainin acimil mag-/go, haggjoe gasda.
 adv.cl. f.cl.

'The boy took his breakfast, and went to school.'

(d) *The boy took his breakfast and went to school.*
 clause 1 clause 2

The two Korean examples (a) and (c) above show that both subordinate and co-ordinate constructions are formed inflectionally, and the IC boundary comes immediately before the inflectional endings, thus yielding two bound constituents, whereas the corresponding English examples (b) and (d) show that subordination and coordination are both effected by a conjunction and the IC analysis yields two free forms. In view of the evidence presented so far it is clear that on surface structure at least there is not formal distinction between subordinate and co-ordinate clauses in Korean, and consequently, Korean adverbial clauses cannot be classified into subordinate and co-ordinate types as in English.

Instead, Korean adverbial clauses may be classified according to the relationship between the element S of an adverbial clause and that of another clause with which the adverbial clause is in subordinate relation. Those adverbial clauses whose S must function also as the S of a succeeding clause are termed 'Concentric Adverbial Clauses' and those adverbial clauses whose S may (i) function also as the S of a succeeding clause or (ii) be different from the S of a succeeding clause are termed 'Concentric-Eccentric Adverbial Clauses' or simply 'Eccentric Adverbial Clauses' in short. That is to say, a concentric adverbial clause has its subject shared with a succeeding clause to which the former is subordinate, whereas an eccentric adverbial clause is free to have either one common subject shared by both clauses, or a subject of its own, which is different from that of a succeeding clause. As will be indicated in 6.4.4.2.2, some eccentric adverbial clauses express different meanings depending on whether their S functions as the S of a succeeding clause or is different from the latter.

6.4.4.2.1. *Concentric Adverbial Clause*

A concentric adverbial clause is formed with one of the following adverbial clause endings:

1. 고서 -gosa 'and then, afterward', e.g.

나는 영화를 보고서 집에 돌아 오겠다
nanin japhwalil bogosa, jibe dola ogedla
 S O P f.cl.

adv.cl.

'I will come home after seeing the film'

(lit. 'I see the film and then will come home').

2. 면서 / 으면서 -mja(nsa)/-imja(nsa) 'while, at the same time', e.g.

장사가 가면서 노래를 한다 *jagsaga gamja(nsa), nolcil handa*
 S P f.cl.

adv.cl.

'While walking away, the vendor is singing.'

3. 다(가) -da(ga) 'interruption, transference', e.g.

너는 책을 읽다가 자니	nānin cegil iglaga jani
S	O P f.cl.
adv.cl.	

'Are you asleep while reading a book?'

4. 려 / 으려 -l(j)A/-il(j)A

려고 / 으려고 -l(j)AgO/-il(j)AgO

고자 -goja

'in order to'

호텔에 가려고 그는 택시를 탔다	hotele galjago ginin tegšilil tadla
A P S O P	
adv.cl.	f.cl.

As shown in the examples given above the element S is overtly expressed only once; either in the adverbial clause or in the succeeding clause.

6.4.4.2.2. Eccentric Adverbial Clause

A concentric-eccentric adverbial clause is formed with one of the following adverbial clause endings. The first two endings, namely, -mja/-imja and -asa/-asa express two different meanings depending on whether the subject of the adverbial clause formed with one of them, symbolized S¹, functions as the subject of a succeeding clause, symbolized S², or is different from S².

1. 며 / 으며 -mja/-imja 'and' when S¹ ≠ S², 'while' when S¹ = S²

S ¹ ≠ S ² : 아이는 웃으며 개는 뛴다	ainin usimja, genin iwindā
S ₁ P S ₂ P	
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'A baby is smiling and a dog is jumping.'

S ¹ = S ² : 아이는 우유를 먹으며 웃었다	ainin ujulil magimja usadla
S ₁ O P f.cl.	
adv.cl.	

'A baby smiled while having milk.'

2. 아(서) / 어(서) -a(sa)/-a(sa) 'as, since, because' when S¹ ≠ S²; 'and then' when S¹ = S², e.g.

S ¹ = S ² : 길이 미끄러워(서) 운전이 어렵다	gili mikilawa(sa) unjani aljabla
S ₁ P S ₂ P	
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'As the road is slippery driving is difficult.'

S ¹ = S ² : 의사를 만나(서) 얘기를 하여라	iisalil manna(sa), jegilil hajla
O P O P	
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'Meet the doctor and have a word.'

시청을 지나서 학교에 갔다.	sicangil jina(sa) haggjoe gasda
O P A P	
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'Passing by the city hall, (he) went to the school.'

3. 고 -go } 'and', e.g. 눈을 감고 너는 기도를 하니	nunil gamko nanin gidolil hani
요 -jo }	O P S O P
	adv.cl. f.cl.

'Are you offering your prayer with your eyes closed?'

(lit. 'Are you closing your eyes and doing your prayer?')

너도 가고 나도 간다 nado gago nado ganda	S ₁ P S ₂ P
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'You are going away and so am I.'

4. 자 -ja 'as soon as', e.g. 비가 그치자 시험이 시작되었다	biga gicija, sihabi sijagiweadla
S ₁ P S ₂ P	
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'As soon as the rain stopped, the game started.'

내가 집에 오자 편지를 봤다 nega jibe oja, pjangil bwadla	S A P O P
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'As soon as I came home I read the letter.'

5. 도록 -dolog } 'until, so that', e.g.

개 -ge	
당신은 지치도록 일을 하는구려	dangsinin jicidolog ilil haningulja
S P O P	
adv.cl.	f.cl.

'You are overworking yourself!'

(lit. 'Until you are exhausted, you are working.')

개가 뛰어 오게 네가 불러 봐
gɛga iwia oge nega bulla bwa

S ₁	P	S ₂	P
adv.cl.		f.cl.	

'You call the dog so that she can come running.'

6. ㄹ수록 / 을수록 *-lsulog/-ilsulog* 'the more ... the more', e.g.

사탕을 얻을수록 소녀는 기뻐다 *satanil adilsulog sonjanin gipadja*

O	P	S	P
adv.cl.		f.cl.	

'The more sweets the girl got, the happier she became.'

어머니가 늙을수록 아들은 슬펐지만
amaniga nilgilsulog, adilin silpadciman

S ₁	P	S ₂	P
adv.cl.		nf.cl.	

'The older his mother became, the more the son was worried but.'

7. ㄹ뿐더러 / 을 뿐더러 *-lpundalla/-ilpundalla* 'not only ... but also', e.g.

그는 돈을 받았을뿐더러 벌써 다 썼다
ginin donil badalsilpundalla balsa da sadja

S	O	P	A	P
adv.cl.			f.cl.	

'He not only got the money but also already spent it.'

하늘이 푸를뿐더러 햇빛이 강하다
hanili pulipundalla hepici gaghada

S ₁	P	S ₂	P
adv.cl.		f.cl.	

'Not only is the sky blue but also the sunlight is strong.'

8. 거나 *-gana*
 든(지) *-din(ji)*
 나 / 으나 *-na/-ina* } 'whether ... or', e.g.

가든지 안가든지 네 마음대로 해라
gadinji angadanji, ne maimdelo hela

P	P	A	P
adv.cl.		f.cl.	

'Whether you go or not, do as you like.'

눈이 오나 비가 오나 나는 좋다
nu:ni ona biga ona, nanin jota

S ₁	P	S ₁	P	S ₂	P
adv.cl.			f.cl.		

'Whether it snows or rains, I am all right.'

9. 면 / 으면 *-mjah/-imjah* } 'if, when', e.g.
 거든 *-gadin*

일을 빨리 끝내거든 나한테 오너라
ilil palli kinnegradin, nahante onala

O	P	A	P
adv.cl.		f.cl.	

'If you finish the work early, come to me.'

날이 맑으면 우리도 사냥을 합시다
nali malgimjah ulido sanjanil hab sida

S ₁	P	S ₂	O	P
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'If the weather is fine, let's go hunting.'

10. 아야 / 어야 *-aja/-aja* } 'only if, only when', e.g.
 라야 *-laja*

부모는 자식이 잘 되어야만 기쁘다
bumonin jasigi jal dweajaman gipinga

S ₂	S ₁	P	P
adv.cl.			

'Are parents happy only when their sons become successful?'

In the above example, S₂ and P of the final clause are discontinuous, being interrupted by the adverbial clause.

시험에 되어 봐야 너도 맛을 안다
sihame dwea bwaja, nado masil anda

A	P	S	O	P
adv.cl.		f.cl.		

'You know the feeling only when you have passed the exam.'

11. 더라도 / 어도 *-(d)ado/-ado*
 ㄹ지언정 / 을지언정 *-ljihanja/-iljihanja*
 ㄹ지라도 / 을지라도 *-ljilado/-iljilado*
 ㄹ망정 / 을망정 *-lmanja/-imanja*
 ㄴ들 / 은들 *-ndil/-indil* } 'even if/though', e.g.

작을지언정 그는 미남이다
jagilcihanja, ginin minam ida

P	S	C	P
adv.cl.		f.cl.	

'Even if [he is] small, he is handsome.'

네가 집에 없더라도 나는 기다리겠다
nega jibe abilado, nanin gidaligedja

S ₁	A	P	S ₂	P
adv.cl.			f.cl.	

'Even though you are not at home, I will wait for you.'

12. 지만 -jiman
 길만 -ganman
 언만 -anman
 나 / 으나 -na/-ina

'although ...' '...but', e.g.

집에 왔지만 소년은 이상했다
jibe wadčiman, sonjanin isaghedia

A P S P
 adv.cl. f.cl.
 'The boy came home but he felt strange.'

생각은 좋으나 실천이 어려웠다
seggagin joina, silcani aljawadia

S₁ P S₂ P
 adv.cl. f.cl.
 'The idea was good but the practice was difficult.'

13. 려만 / 으려만 -ljamman/-iljamman 'might/would ... but', e.g.

아프려만 노인은 멀정했다
apiljamman, noinin malčaghedia

adv.cl. S P
 f.cl.
 'The old man might have been ill but he was all right.'

손님이 많이 오려만 주인은 태평했다
sonnimi mani oljamman, juinin tepjaghedia

S₁ P S₂ P
 adv.cl. f.cl.
 'There would be many guests coming, but the host was not worried.'

14. 므로 / 으므로 -milo/-imilo 'as, since, because', e.g.

할머니는 지금 허리가 아프므로 쉬신다
halmannin jigim haligna apamilo, swisinda

S₁ A S₂ P P
 adv.cl. f.cl.
 'As my granny now has lumbago, she is resting.'

네가 떠나므로 나는 .심심하겠다
nega lanamilo, nanin simsimhagedia

S₁ P S₂ P
 adv.cl. f.cl.
 'As you are leaving, I will be lonely.'

15. 니(까) / 으니(까) -ni(ka)/-ini(ka) { 'Time: when, as'
 'Clause: because, as, since', e.g.

내가 깨어보니(까) 시간이 두시였다
nega keaboni(ka), sigani dusi jadia

S₁ P S₂ C P
 adv.cl. f.cl.
 'When I woke up, it was 2 a.m.'

네가 빨리 가니(까) 만나서 말해라
nega palli gani(ka), mannas malhela

S P P
 adv.cl. f.cl.
 'As you are leaving early see him and tell him.'

16. 는데 -ninde } 'and' (topic introducer), e.g.
 ㄴ데 / ㄴ데 -nde/-inde

내가 일을 하는데 아팠다
nega ilil haninde, apadia

S O P P
 adv.cl. f.cl.
 'I was working and I had headache.'

이꽃이 좋은데 왜 안보니
ikoci johinde, we anboni

S₁ P A P
 adv.cl. f.cl.
 'This flower is nice and why don't you look at it?'

17. 되 -dwe '[may/might] ... but', e.g.

돈을 쓰되 조심을 하여라
donil šidwe, josimil hajla

O P O P
 adv.cl. f.cl.
 'You may spend the money, but be careful.'

바람이 불되 비는 안온다 *balami buldwe, binin anonda*

S₁ P S₂ P
 adv.cl. f.cl.
 'The wind is blowing, but it is not raining.'

'Furthermore, since you have received the prize money, you must be happy!'

애 오늘은 학교에 안가니 *jɛ, oni 'lin 'hagkjoɛ 'angani*

vocat. f.cl.
ph.

'Hey, aren't you going to school today?'

그러니 자네가 가야 될듯하네 *gilɔ 'ni, ja 'negagaja 'dwellitane*

Adv.z. adv.cl. f.cl.

'Therefore, it looks as if it will succeed only if you go.'

또 네가 오래 보고 가져와도 상관 없어
'to, negao 'le bo-go gajawa 'do, 'sangwani 'a:bsɔ

Adv.z. adv.cl.₁ adv.cl.₂ f.cl.
adv.cl.

'And even if you would return [this book] after reading it for a long time, it doesn't matter.'

그러나 여행을 하고 내년엔 돌아와서 사업을 하면 늦지 않겠오
gi 'lana, ja-heŋilhago ne-njɔnedolawasɔ 'sasbilhamjan 'nidci 'ankešo

Adv.z. adv.cl.₃ adv.cl.₂ adv.cl.₁ f.cl.
adv.cl.

'Will it not be [too] late if I make some trips and come back next year to start a business?'

As illustrated by the last two examples above, the non-final adverbial clause occurring with the final clause in the sentence structure may consist of more than one clause.

The less frequently occurring marked structures are as follows:

- (i) (Adv.z.) + (vocat.ph.) + Final Clause + (Pcl.z.) + (adv.cl.), e.g.

그러니 철수 잠깐만 있어요 바쁘겠지만
gi-lani .calšu, -jamkanman .iśɔ jo, bapi.gedčiman
Adv.z. vocat. f.cl. Pcl.z. adv.cl.
ph.

'Therefore stay a while, Chulsoo, though you may be busy.'

- (ii) (Adv.z.) + Final Clause + (Pcl.z.) + (vocat.ph.) + (adv.cl.), e.g.

그러니 잠깐만 있어요 철수 바쁘겠지만
gi-lani -jamkanman .iśɔ jo, .calšu, bapi.gedčiman
Adv.z. f.cl. Pcl.z. vocat. adv.cl.
ph.

- (iii) (Adv.z.) + Final Clause + (Pcl.z.) + (adv.cl.) + (vocat.ph.), e.g.

그러니 잠깐만 있어요 바쁘겠지만 철수
gi-lani -jamkanman .iśɔ jo, bapi.gedčiman, .calšu
Adv.z. f.cl. Pcl.z. adv.cl. vocat.ph.

7.3.2. Major Sentence Categories

The major sentences may be classified into four sentence categories on the basis of the inflectional mood endings (cf. 4.3.5.1) occurring with the element P. They are (i) 'Declarative Sentence', (ii) 'Interrogative Sentence', (iii) 'Imperative Sentence' and (iv) 'Propositive Sentence'. Intonation plays an important role in distinguishing some sentence categories, since not only is the selection of certain types of intonation fairly regularly related to a particular sentence category but also it can sometimes characterize a sentence which is modally ambiguous.

7.3.2.1. Declarative Sentence

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the declarative mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.3.5.1) is a declarative sentence. A declarative sentence is phonologically marked nearly always by Intoneme LF (LOW FALL) or HF (HIGH FALL) (cf. 2.8) occurring with the last stress group, except the one whose P is inflected with *-ji*, the declarative mood ending of the medium style, which is marked by Intoneme LF only, e.g.

비가 옵니다 *biga.omnida* 'It is raining.'

아저씨는 돈을 많이 벌니다 *a 'jašinin 'donil -mani .ba:mnida*
[His] uncle makes a lot of money.'

나는 집에 갑니다 *naninjibe.gamnida* 'I am going home.'

연이 지붕에 있네 *'ja:ni ji-buge 'inne* 'The kite is on the roof.'

이 꽃을 따구나 *i 'kocil 'lagkuna* 'You have picked this flower!'

잘 집어 나도 *jalji 'ba na 'do* 'I pick [it] up well too.'

7.3.2.1.1. Sentences Neutral in Mood

Sentences whose P is inflected with one of the following endings are modally neutral without intonation. It is in such sentences that intonation plays its major role as a phonological marker of the grammatical mood category.

- (i) *-o/-io* and *-so* of the low formal speech style as to the declarative, interrogative and imperative mood (cf. 4.3.5.1.2.1-3).
- (ii) *-a/-ɔ* of the medium speech style as to the declarative, interrogative, imperative and propositive mood (cf. 4.3.5.1.5.1-4).
- (iii) *-ji* of the medium speech style as to the declarative and interrogative mood (cf. 4.3.5.1.5.1-2).

7.3.2.2. Interrogative Sentence

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the interrogative mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.3.5.1) is an interrogative sentence. There are

two types of interrogative sentence in Korean, 'Q'-type interrogative sentence and 'Yes/No'-type interrogative sentence. The 'Q'-type includes an interrogative element such as the interrogative noun, e.g., *nu/nugu* 'who', *muas* 'what', *anje* 'when', etc. (cf. 3.4.2.1.3), the interrogative adjective, e.g., *ani* 'which', *musin* 'what', etc., (cf. 3.4.3.3), or the interrogative adverb, e.g., *we* 'why' or *alake* 'how' (cf. 3.4.4.4). On the other hand, the 'Yes/No'-type does not include such an interrogative element.

The 'Q'-type and 'Yes/No'-type are also different in the choice of intonation tunes. The 'Q'-type interrogative sentence, except the one discussed in 7.3.2.2.1, is usually marked by one of the falling intonations, i.e., Intoneme LF/HF. On the other hand, the 'Yes/No'-type interrogative sentence is typically marked by Intoneme R, e.g.

(i) 'Q'-Type Interrogative Sentences [Q element is underlined]

언제 떠나십니까 *-anje ìana.simnika* 'When are you leaving?'

이것은 얼마니까 *i'gasin .almamnika* 'How much is this?'

누가 오셨오 *nuga'osjaso* 'Who has come?'

자네는 무엇을 했는가 *ja'nenin mu-asil'henninga*

'What did you do?'

책을 몇권 샀니 *cegil-mjadkwon .sanni*

'How many books did you buy?'

어느것이 좋아 *a-nigasi'joa* 'Which is better?'

(ii) 'Yes/No'-Type Interrogative Sentences

나도 갑니까 *nado'gamnika* 'Am I going too?'

당신이 전화를 하시겠오 *-dajsini -ja:nhwalil hasi.gesso*

'Would you like to telephone?'

신문을 읽어 봤어 *sinmunil'ilgabwasA* 'Did you read the paper?'

연필도 없니 *janpildo'la:mni* 'Don't you even have a pencil?'

구경꾼이 많이 있디 *gu:gjagkuni'maniidli*

'Were there many spectators [as you recall]?'

7.3.2.2.1. The Interrogative sentence whose P is inflected with *-ji* (cf. 4.3.5.1.5.2) is different from all other interrogative sentences in the choice of intonation as follows:

(a) It is marked by Intoneme R when occurring as a 'Q'-type interrogative sentence, whereas all other 'Q'-type interrogative sentences are marked by Intoneme LF/HF, e.g.

너는 언제 가지 *nani'nanjegaji* 'When are you going?'

cf. 너는 언제 가니 *nani.nanjegani* 'When are you going?'

(b) It is marked by Intoneme HF when occurring as a 'Yes/No'-type interrogative sentence, whereas all other 'Yes/No'-type interrogative sentences are marked by Intoneme R, e.g.

네가 했지 *nega'hedci* 'You did [it], didn't you?'

cf. 네가 했어 *nega'hesA* 'Did you do [it]?'

7.3.2.3. Imperative Sentence

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the imperative mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.3.5.1) is an imperative sentence. The intonation associated with the imperative sentence is Intoneme LF/HF, as in the case of the declarative sentence. However, Intoneme LF/HF occurring with the imperative sentence is very often, though not always, distinguished from the same intoneme associated with the declarative sentence by (a) having a higher and more abrupt pitch contour and (b) being realized with a stronger stress, than the latter. This pitch-stress characteristic is particularly noticeable with Intoneme LF/HF accompanying the imperative sentences whose P is inflected with a modally neutral ending, e.g., *-a/-A*. Where intonation fails to distinguish the mood of a modally neutral sentence, it is ultimately the context of situation which determines it, e.g.

이리 오십시오 *ilio.sibšio* 'Please come here.'

당신이 이편지를 부치오 *.dajsini, i-pjanjilil bu.cio*

'You post this letter.'

자네는 여기 있게 *jane'nin jagi'idke* 'You stay here.'

신문을 봐라 *.sinmunil .bwala* 'Look at the newspaper.'

빨리 뛰지마 *palliiwiji'ma* 'Don't run fast.'

7.3.2.4. Propositional Sentence

A sentence whose P is inflected with one of the propositional mood endings of any of the five speech styles (cf. 4.3.5.1) is a propositional sentence. The propositional sentence is not distinguishable intonationally from the imperative sentence since both are marked by Intoneme LF/HF coupled with the pitch-stress feature referred to in 7.3.2.3. Therefore, the propositional sentence with a modally neutral ending can be distinguished from the corresponding imperative sentence only by the context of situation. It is noted that the propositional sentence with a modally neutral ending includes frequently the pronoun *uli* 'we' as the subject of the sentence, e.g.

천천히 걸읍시다 *-cancanhi .ga:libšida* 'Let us walk slowly.'

내일 일찍 떠나십시오 *nei.lilciġ ìana.sibšida*

'Let us leave early tomorrow.'

오늘은 하지 마세 *o-nilin haji'mase* 'Let's not do it today.'

우리도 시장에 가 *u-lido -si:jaje'ga* 'Let us go to the market too.'

7.4. SIMPLE AND COMPOUND SENTENCES

If a simple sentence is defined as consisting of a single final clause, and a compound sentence of more than one final clause, the majority of Korean sentences are simple sentences since they include only one final clause.

7.4.1. Simple Sentences

It is to be noted that following the definition of simple and compound sentences as given above, many sentences which have traditionally been treated as compound sentences are analysed here as simple sentences, e.g.

새가 울고 있었다 *-sega .ulgo iſadta* 'The bird was singing.'

꽃이 아름답게 피었니 *.koci a-limdabke pi .nni*

'Has the flower blossomed beautifully?'

네가 해야 나도 하겠다 *nega .heja, nadoha, gedŏa*
nf.cl. f.cl.

'Only when/if you do [it], I will too.'

너도 가고 나도 간다 *na .do gago nado, ganda*
nf.cl. f.cl.

'You go and I go too.'

당신이 가면 나는 안간다 *.dangsini gamjan nanin, anganda*
nf.cl. f.cl.

'If you go, I will not go.'

7.4.2. Compound Sentences

Compound sentences, of which two-clause type is most common, are all coordinate sentences, and the constituent clauses are linked paratactically in quick succession. Either a plus juncture or a tentative juncture may intervene between the constituent clauses but never a terminal juncture, e.g.

개가 뛰다 뛴다 *gega .twinda, .sadia*
f.cl. f.cl.

'The dog is jumping, it's stopped [now].'

추어 문 닫어 *~cuA, ~mundadA* 'It is cold, shut the door.'
f.cl. f.cl.

온다 빨리 숨어라 *.onda, .pallisumala* '[He] is coming, hide quickly.'
f.cl. f.cl.

먹어라 식는다 *ma-gala .signinda* 'Eat [it] quickly, it is getting cold.'
f.cl. f.cl.

As exemplified by the examples above, most compound sentences are relatively short and are characterized by 'impatience', 'anxiety', etc., on the part of the speaker.

There are many compound sentences in Korean in which the two final clauses, usually of interrogative type, stand in semantic contrast or opposition.

꿈이냐, 생시냐 *.kuminja, .seſsinja* 'Is it dream or reality?'

할까요, 말까요 *'halkajo, .malkajo* 'Shall I do it or not?'

7.5. MINOR SENTENCES

The minor sentences, which, by definition, do not include a final clause, may be further divided into 'Elliptical' and 'Initiating' types.

7.5.1. Elliptical Type

Minor sentences of the elliptical type are all referable to major sentences containing the same word, phrase or non-final clause. These often constitute responses to a previous utterance and are replaceable by a major type sentence of which they form a constituent, e.g.

(a) 신문 *.sinmun* 'A newspaper.'

[in response to *mwasil boni* 'What are you reading?']

cf. 신문을 본다 *.sinmunil, bonda* 'I am reading the paper.'

(b) 미국에서 *.migugesA* 'From America.'

[in response to *adiesA osiAso* 'Where did you come from?']

cf. 미국에서 왔오 *-migugesA, wašo* 'I have come from America.'

(c) 그이가 오면 *gi-iga o, mjan* '[What] if she comes [here]?'

nf.cl.

cf. 그이가 오면 어떻게 해 *gi-iga o, mjan alake, he*
'What shall I do if she comes?'

The category of the declarative/interrogative mood is found operating in the minor sentences of the elliptical type with intonation as its exponent. As in the major type sentences, Intoneme LF/HF functions as the phonological exponent of the declarative mood, and Intoneme R as the exponent of the interrogative mood. However, a minor sentence consisting of, or including, an interrogative element (cf. 7.3.2.2) is marked by Intoneme LF/HF just like the 'Q'-type interrogative sentences, e.g.

(i) *Minor Sentences of Declarative Mood*

돈 *.don* 'Money.'

cf. 돈을 찾았다 *-donil ca, jadla* '[I] have found the money.'

학교에서 *hagkjoesA* 'At the school.'
cf. 학교에서 놀았다 *-hagkjoesA no, ladia* '[I] played at the school.'

(ii) *Minor Sentences of Interrogative Mood*

(a) 'Yes/No'-Type

학교에서 *hagkjoesA* 'At the school?'
cf. 학교에서 놀았니 *-hagkjoesA no lanni* 'Did you play at the school?'
엄마가 *ammaga* 'Mummy?'
cf. 엄마가 더 좋아 *-ammaga da joa* 'You like your mummy more?'

(b) 'Q'-Type

누가 *nu'ga* 'Who?'
cf. 누가 울어 *nugau'la* 'Who is crying?'
언제 *anje* 'When?'
cf. 언제 주었어 *-anje ju'a'sA* 'When did you give [it me]?'

7.5.2. *Initiating Type*

Minor sentences of the initiating type are used to initiate a discourse and are not referable to major sentences of which they may be a constituent. Minor sentences of the initiating type may be further divided into the 'Exclamatory Type' and 'Vocative Type', the former being expressed by an introductory interjections (cf. 3.4.6.2) and the latter by a personal name, a title or by both with or without a vocative particle (cf. 3.4.5.5), e.g.

(i) *Exclamatory Type*

아 *a* 'Ah!'
저런 *ja lan* 'Good gracious!'
자 *ja* 'Well!'
아이구 *aigu* 'Oh!'
쉬 *-swi* 'Hush!', 'Quiet!'

(ii) *Vocative Type*

복동아 *bogdonga* 'Bogdong (personal name)!'
님이여 *ni, mija* 'My dear!'
김장군 *gimjangun* 'General Kim!'
박선생 *bagsan'sen* 'Mr. Pak!'
여보 *ja'bo* 'Darling!'

etc.

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